



1964

The Critical and Literary Background for a Study of the Development of Taste for "Modern Art" in America, from 1880 to 1900

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THE CRITICAL AND LITERARY BACKGROUND FOR A STUDY OF THE DEVELOPMENT
OF TASTE FOR "MODERN ART" IN AMERICA, FROM 1880 TO 1900

by

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A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Loyola
University in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for
the Degree of Master of Arts

January

1964

LIFE

John D. Kyzela, S.J., was born in Cleveland, Ohio on February 2, 1932. After graduating from St. Ignatius High School, Cleveland, in June, 1949, he matriculated at John Carroll University, Cleveland, where he spent one year in the undergraduate College. In June, 1950, he entered the Society of Jesus, at Sacred Heart Novitiate, Milford, Ohio.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- AA Refers to the art journal of the nineties, Art Amateur, published in New York.
- AIC Refers to the Art Institute of Chicago's Catalogues of Exhibits from the Institute's opening year in 1879 to 1900. Also, a page from the Museum Daybook.
- AICC Refers to the collection of letters in the possession of Mr. Frederick Sweet, Curator of the American Gallery at the Art Institute of Chicago. The collection contains letters of Mary Cassatt, Mrs. Potter Palmer, and Sara Hallowell.
- AIS Refers to the Art Institute Scrapbook, a spotty collection of clippings from newspapers and periodicals of the 1890's.
- BMFA Refers to the collection of letters of Sara Hallowell with the director of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts in the 1890's, General Charles G. Loring. They can be found in the Archives of the museum, courtesy of Mr. Perry T. Rathbone, present director of the Museum.
- CHS Refers to the collection of letters, mostly in the Columbian Exposition Folder at the Chicago Historical Society. Letters of Sara Hallowell and Mrs. Palmer as well as other people concerned with the World's Fair in Chicago, 1893.
- COLL Refers to the art journal of the 1890's, The Collector, published in New York.
- CRITIC Refers to the art journal of the 1890's, The Critic, published in New York.
- HI Refers to John Rewald's The History of Impressionism, (New York, 1946).
- IIE Refers to the collection of Catalogues of the Art Exhibit held annually from 1873 to 1893 in conjunction with the Interstate Industrial Exposition in Chicago. These catalogues can be found at the Chicago Historical Society.
- NLC Refers to the Palmer letters left the Newberry Library, Chicago.
- PAFA Refers to the collection of letters of the direction of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts in the 1890's with Sara Hallowell. The letters (courtesy of Frances Lichten, archivist) can be found in the same museum's Archives.

CHAPTER I

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF TASTE FOR "MODERN ART" IN AMERICA IN THE 1890'S. THE PROBLEM, THE MATERIALS, THE PROCEDURE.

In the introduction to his history of post-impressionism, the art historian of impressionism, John Rewald, has the Belgian poet, Verhaeren, sum up his own reaction to the painting of the 1890's: "There is no longer any single school, there are scarcely any groups, and these few are constantly splitting. All these tendencies make me think of moving and kaleidoscopic geometric patterns, which clash at one moment only to unite at another, which now fuse and then separate and fly apart a little later, but which all nevertheless revolve within the same circle, that of the new art."¹ At roughly this same period in history the voice of the great curator-critic from Berlin, Wilhelm Von Bode, was heard warning European art collectors that their art was being taken almost from beneath their very eyes to the United States. The new wealth of the American millionaires was the powerful magnet drawing both Verhaeren's "new art" as well as the classical art of Europe to American shores.² The cultural and art historian today, studying the origin of the collection of "modern art" faces the same double problem exemplified by the attitudes of Verhaeren and Bode. The historian, however, does have the balance of some eighty-three years on his side. But he still must ask and be confounded by the same basic questions: What was the art of the eighties and nineties of the last century, and just why did Americans begin collecting it?

Living in the midst of the new European culture, Verhaeren could not distinguish too well the movements that we call today, realism, romanticism, impressionism, and post-impressionism. Instead he summed up all the movements with the phrase, "new art." The journal in which his article was published was L'Art Moderne. Bode, on the other hand, felt that European art institutions were losing their monopoly of European art. American interlopers were about to despoil the European collector of his artistic heritage. Bode was in this respect something of a prophet. For the present we are not concerned with his foresight. Rather we presented the attitudes of these two men, because they contain the seeds of the problems that confront the cultural historian today.

Putting off a discussion of the term "modern art" until somewhat later, we are faced first of all with the enigma of what to call the art of Europe of the eighties and nineties. From today's historical vantage point in time we are tempted to retort, "oh, that is quite simple...the modern art that was the talk of Europe was impressionism...or post-impressionism...or perhaps the painting of the Barbison school." And unfortunately, our current cultural and art histories do give us these handy name tags and categories to put on the art of the nineties. But the farther back in our own century we go in our analysis of the art of the nineties, the less definite these categories and tags become until we arrive at the very period under study and find such definitions and divisions meaningless. The word "impressionism" was bandied about in such a fashion that most of the painters known as such today rejected the word in their lifetime. In themselves, the words "Barbison" and "realism" mean practically nothing in relation to painting. The former is merely the name of a small town, and the latter is such a general term that it defies application to any one particular school of painting exclusively, such as that of the school of Courbet.

A second problem is implied in Bode's attitude and remarks in Kunst und Kunstler referred to above. How can the historian today account for the origin and frantic development of taste and interest in the European art of 1880 to 1900 on the part of Midwestern collectors? As is well known, the history of taste is a complicated affair. Hardly anything written having to do with the origin and development of taste in individual collectors is at all satisfying. Francis Henry Taylor's work, Taste of Angels, leaves the whole modern period untouched. His essay, "Moral and Intellectual Responsibilities in Expanding Collections," does not quite handle the problems.³ Nor have such recent books as Aline Saarinen's on the wealthy American collectors of the last century, nor Ishbel Ross's book on Chicago's Mrs. Potter Palmer brought an unusual amount of erudition to the subject.⁴

However, Russell Lynes in his The Tastemakers has given us quite an interesting and fairly well documented survey of the origin and development of taste especially in his section on the nineties. His attitude towards the problem of taste is fresh and quite honest: "Taste is our personal delight, our private dilemma, and our public facade."⁵ And more to the point he asserts that "Periods of taste are never quite as manageable as historians would sometimes like to make them. They slide gradually from one into another, though occasionally there are upheavals that seem to set apart a vanishing era of taste from a new one."⁶

Lynes, then, provides us with a brief and accurate survey into which our own study falls. He writes of the post-Civil War generation and its taste, that the rich were rich enough and lived enough apart from the world to be conservative. Looking to the only models of wealth and station that they could find

that were comparable with their own, they built their houses like the great houses of Europe and the palaces of Renaissance princes, who had also made their money as traders and financiers.⁷ But besides such naive looking for norms in the taste of Renaissance princes, the new wealthy Americans found very definite norms or arbiters of taste in Ward McAllister's "four hundred" socially acceptable families. "Here was a phalanx, in tight formation that could be made into shock troops to attack bad taste."⁸ Bok and Tiffany, tastemakers in home decoration should not be overlooked. The former, as editor of the Ladies Home Journal, practiced what Edith Wharton preached. They [Bok and Tiffany] both believed that the taste of the rich was the avenue to the taste of the middle and lower classes and in their quite different ways they took upon themselves the problem of the public sensibilities. Tiffany's method was by artistic manufacture and by personal example while Bok's was by practical editorial interpretation.⁹

There we have a few of the simple guidelines or "taste determinants" as selected by Russell Lynes. Unfortunately, the author of The Tastemakers does not have much to say about the development of taste for European painting. Nevertheless, in the early paragraphs of his book he does give us a hint as to how he thinks we should consider and study the problem of taste in America.

The making of taste in America is, in fact, a major industry. Is there any other place that you can think of where there are so many professionals telling so many non-professionals what their taste should be? Is there any country which has as many magazines as we have devoted to telling people how they should decorate their homes, clothe their bodies, and deport themselves in company? And so many newspaper columns full of hints about what is good taste and what is bad taste? In the last century and a quarter the purveying of taste in America has become big business, employing hundreds of thousands of people in editorial and advertising offices, in printing plants, in galleries and museums, in shops and consultants' offices. If the taste industry were to go out of business we would have a major depression, and there would be bread lines of tastemakers as far as the eye could see.¹⁰

This paragraph from Lynes clearly indicates the breadth and depth of the problem of taste. Furthermore, the author of the paragraph singled out four institutions or means which helped to develop taste: magazines, newspapers, galleries and museums and consultants. In our own procedure we shall attempt to survey the role each of these played in developing interest in the collection of "modern" European art in the Midwest. But more significantly, Lynes in this passage has bolstered our own opinion that we will never quite know why an individual collector collected anything until we consider factors other than those connected directly with his own personal cultural milieu. In other words, the cultural historian must cling almost stubbornly to the ideal of attempting to recreate the entire intellectual and phenomenological "climate" from which and out of which the people and the problems of taste arise.

What methodological structure can we build from the historical data that has a chance of helping us solve problems of artistic taste in painting in the 1890's? Such a structure comes from a study of the history of the period itself. It is nothing other than the critical use and evaluation of the books by the literary and art critics of the times, literary and art journals of the period, samplings of the fiction surrounding the art books and works, surveying the art auctions of the period, reviewing the displays of art at the various exhibits and fairs held during the period, and finally centering in on the correspondence and personal history of the few individuals who have come to stand out in the light of previous research. After this body of material has been filtered through the works and observations of present day art historians and even political and cultural historians, only after such scrutiny will we attain some sort of ~~satisfying~~ solutions to the problems of taste of our period under study.

Needless to say, the following series of essays will not completely measure up to such a grandiose methodological structure. Personal difficulties and lack of documentation in various areas hampered the writing throughout. Taken as a whole, the essays will hardly live up to the comprehensive title of the thesis, namely, "The History of the Collection of Modern Art in the Midwest from 1880 to 1900." Yet these essays are felt to be definite and documented steps more in the line of a chronology of materials that must be taken before such a comprehensive study on the cultural history of the Midwest can be undertaken. That no such work has been attempted to date is justification enough for beginning.

Let us begin our approach to our "taste-evaluative structure" of the nineties with possibly the most significant literature, the journals. Because of its purpose and scope, the journal has always reflected a sort of "middleman" opinion of art. Since customers are always needed to buy art, descriptions of it tend to be popular, persuasive and graphic. Yet even in the nineties in this country, a certain degree of scholarly criticism was also welcome, above all in the journals. But we should also be aware that the American 1890's was a time of a veritable magazine "revolution."¹¹ Concerning the graphic art itself, technological change was in the air, especially as regards the adaptation of photography to printing plates by the halftone process. Economic factors, namely, the hard times brought on by the depressions of the nineties, made people think twice before subscribing to expensive journals. Finally, the aggressive drive for self-improvement on the part of the booming middle class created a demand for "magazine education" unknown before in our history. The Chautauquan Bay View Reading School's publications, Cosmopolitan, Arena and Forum are just a few of such cultural and educational periodicals, founded precisely to fill

the demands of the middle class society. Depression, forcing the prices of the magazines downward, tended also to bring such magazines as McClure's, Cosmopolitan, and Hunsey's with their reasonable price of ten cents, into greater circulation. Such inexpensiveness was characteristic of the art and literary journals as well.

Five art journals of the 1890's were published out of New York: Art Amateur, Art Interchange, The Collector, The Critic, and International Studio (the American edition).¹² An Englishman, Montague Marks, who began his American career as a cowboy on the plains, was the editor of the monthly, Art Amateur. Frank L. Mott calls the magazine, "well illustrated, instructive and surprisingly wide in scope."¹³ Marks himself, described the magazine as "a monthly journal devoted to the cultivation of art in the household."¹⁴ In 1892, after fourteen years of publication, he could boast that Art Amateur "had the largest bona-fide paid circulation of any periodical of its class in the world."¹⁵ A slight exaggeration, perhaps, but the magazine did abound in interesting articles ranging all the way from critical studies on the old and "new" masters in art to such topics as needlework and home art courses. Such variety added to the attractiveness and appeal of the magazine. "Art" was for everyone, and there was something "artistic" that everyone could do. Furthermore, the critical evaluations of art by such writers as Roger Riordan and Theodore Child were far from second rate, as we shall see later. In our estimation, the Art Amateur was easily in advance of the other art journals of the 1890's.

The Art Interchange, charging only five cents and appearing very much like the Art Amateur in format, had more modest goals as a critical journal. Although it was a fortnightly quarto published "to foster home decoration,"¹⁶ this did not prevent its editor, Mrs. Josephine Redding, and its foremost contributors,

Russell Sturgis, General di Cesnola and the like, from expressing their definite and sometimes tendentious opinions. The Collector was another monthly, edited by Alfred Trumble, charging only one dollar a year for a subscription. For anyone interested in the history of American collecting, whether it be painting or coins, Trumble's magazine is invaluable.¹⁷ Although antique collecting was not in the nineties the national pastime it has become today, it would be, nevertheless, to this class of people that the magazine appealed. For our purposes, this magazine proved especially valuable because of the detailed listing of all the paintings sold at nearly every major auction held in New York from 1889 to 1899.

New York could also boast of the brother and sister editors of The Critic, Joseph and Jeanette Gilder.¹⁸ This magazine was a good bit more expensive than most, demanding three dollars a year for the subscription. The editors, however, did lay claim to being in the vanguard of a "liberal" understanding of modern literature since it was the first magazine of its kind to publish articles by such writers as Walt Whitman.¹⁹ Unfortunately, The Critic was not quite so tolerant of "modern art." Yet a cosmopolitan outlook characterized the Critic with its various "Letters" from London, Boston, Paris and with Lucy Monroe beginning her "Chicago Letter" in 1893. Besides these journals, New York art fanciers and collectors could obtain a number of international art journals, most of them publishing both American and British editions. Such were the typographical art journal, Aldine, the Magazine of Art, the Art Journal, and the International Studio.²⁰ However, since most of these magazines reflect the taste of British critics, they were not, for the most part, considered or made use of in this study. One last eastern publication, though not professedly an art journal, deserves mention, namely, Scribner's Monthly or The Century.

Richard Watson Gilder, himself a fair art critic, wrote the column for Scribner's called "The Old Cabinet," containing articles on art, literature and poetry.²¹ Besides Gilder's articles, D. O'C. Townley, W.C. Brownell and Clarence Cook contributed much in the way of "enlightened" criticism and understanding of "modern art."

In the 1890's the Midwest lagged behind the east coast but little in founding and publishing expensive and critical, art and literary journals. The Chautaquan, The Dial, Modern Art, The Chapbook, and Brush and Pencil all flourished during the same period. None of these journals, however, was nearly as elaborate and as diversified in its interests as the above-mentioned eastern journals. And yet proportionately, they were as important and significant here in the Midwest as were the eastern journals in the East. The Chautaquan was the more or less official organ of the Chautauqua Movement, edited by Theodore L. Flood, a former Methodist Minister and co-founder of the movement.²² Magazine and movement were both devoted to the general cultural improvement of the "common" literate American. Consequently, the magazine contained nothing original about "modern art." Both The Chautaquan and The Dial, however, proved most helpful with their regular book reviews. Since The Dial was published in Chicago, it served mainly as a handy index to the books the editor, Francis F. Browne, deemed fit for the art-conscious Chicagoan to buy or peruse.²³ The handsomely printed Modern Art was the only magazine of quality devoted entirely to the study of the "modern art" of the nineties.²⁴ The edition was expensive at fifty cents a copy and was first limited to three-hundred copies. Besides reproducing drawings of what the magazine called "modern art," Modern Art along with The Chapbook attempted to employ their own artists. In the case of Modern Art, the Indianapolis "impressionist", T.C. Steele, was commissioned to do some work for

them. The journal itself had its origin in Indianapolis but eventually moved to Boston due to lack of funds, where it was published by Louis Prang until 1897.²⁵

Chicago's The Chapbook and Brush and Pencil are the last two journals of any significance for the study of the collection of "modern art." The Chapbook was about as avant-garde in its tastes in literature as its life as a journal (1894-1898) was short. Using the best quality paper and employing the young American artist, John Sloan, to do drawings for it, The Chapbook contained the latest and the most advanced writers of the nineties.²⁶ Again (unfortunately for our purposes), there was nothing in the way of comment or criticism of "modern art." The Chicago Art Institute's quasi-official magazine, Brush and Pencil, took a more definite stance on "modern art," since a number of competent Chicago artist-critics such as Lorado Taft, John H. Vanderpoel, and James William Pattison wrote for it.²⁷

Though there were other journals concerned with art criticism, most of them went out of existence before the 1890's or devoted very little space and time to the discussion of "modern art." However, whatever has been found to be of value in such journals as Harper's or Atlantic Monthly will be incorporated into the text of the following chapters. Here and there an "overnight success" journal as the Chicago Figaro, would spring up, born from some special social event as Figaro was from the Columbian Exposition of 1893. Where such magazines have something to bear on our main intent, they have been used. But the eleven magazines selected represent nearly all, and the best, that the nineties could boast of in art criticism.

Little need be said of the books on "modern art" of the nineties. There were, of course, a good many books published, but most of them are out of print today, lost, or often inaccessible. As has been indicated, The Dial and The

Chautauque directed our attention to what seem to have been the most popular and influential of these art books. Rather than burden the reader with a long list of such critics and their respective books, we have chosen to give evaluations of both the critic and his book or books as they are taken up in the following chapters.

A word must also be said in passing about the use of newspapers. As interesting and provocative as newspaper reaction to exhibits of "modern art" tends to be, to just that degree is such reaction difficult to assess. Precisely what value is it to know that such and such a paper reacted adversely to a show of "modern art" and another paper quite favorably? Actually American press reaction to the "modern art" shows of the nineties and the French press reaction to their "modern art" shows of the same period differ quite a bit. The impressionist artist, Renoir, reminiscing with his son about the great American impressionist show in New York in 1886 reminds us of this: "The American public is probably no more alert than the French, but it doesn't think it necessary to sneer at things it doesn't understand."²⁸ Again, since we were limited to certain cities, only the more important comments on the few impressionist shows were considered. In the final analysis, the selection of this or that newspaper from which to sample criticism was somewhat arbitrary.

Strangely enough, few novels were written whose purpose was to throw light and understanding on the collecting habits of American collectors. Nor was the contemporary painting of the nineties a subject or even the overall theme of a success-novel of the times. True, Dreiser's The Genius revolves around the various trials and martial vicissitudes of a supposedly American "impressionist."²⁹ And yet, the book was neither successful as a novel, nor as a penetrating study of the life of an artist. However that may be, some small amount of material

was used to the degree that it could be discovered. Here as elsewhere, Van Wyck Brooks' essays were invaluable.²⁹

Probably the most accurate instruments or means helping us calculate the taste of Midwestern American collectors of "modern art" were the Fairs, Art Museum exhibits, and art auctions. In such public events, the concrete manifestation of the taste of the few wealthy American collectors can be found. To a degree, we can also discover something of the public taste for art. However, in discerning this last element, emphasis must be on the materials described above--journals, newspapers, art books and critics.

Among these "public events," let us first turn to the Fairs or Expositions. There were four important Fairs or expositions that made some small or large cultural impact on America during the last three decades of the nineteenth century. In chronological order they are: The Philadelphia Centennial Exposition of 1876; The New Orleans World's Fair, 1885; The Chicago World's Fair, 1893; and The Atlanta Southern Exposition of 1895. But besides these more or less nationally known Fairs there was a whole host of smaller state and regional Fairs or Expositions. When examined at closer range all the Expositions had some cultural aspects to them. As early as 1863, the renowned New York art critic, Clarence Cook, then at the outset of his career, made the New York Sanitary Fair a target for his sharp criticism.³⁰ In 1879, Chicago began holding a series of Interstate Industrial Expositions, one of whose main features was a yearly, brilliant art display so famous in Europe and this country that it was dubbed the "American Salon."³¹ Chapter three of the thesis will describe these exhibits at some length. Besides Chicago's Interstate Industrial Exposition, the Louisville Southern Exposition, modeled along the lines of its Chicago predecessor, featured yearly displays of art during the years 1883 through 1887. Though the Louisville

Southern Exhibits were not very important, they do form the background for other important and significant art shows there, the impressionist show in Louisville being an example.

Art museum exhibits of "modern art" are still better expressions of the taste of a group and an age. They were many and frequent, and even today do not elude the historian's eye quite so easily as the art exhibits buried amidst the completely diversified displays of local Fairs and Expositions. In this study, an attempt has been made to survey all the "modern art" shows of art in the Midwest in the various cities where information could be found. The results are in the appendices, along with a survey of the shows of "modern art" in the East during this same period of the nineties. From this overall schema of museum art exhibits of the "modern art" of the nineties, three shows have been studied in some detail in the subsequent chapters. The shows are: the Loan Exhibit of Modern Art at the World's Fair in 1893, the so-called Louisville "Impressionist" show of the same year, and the Cleveland Exhibit of Modern Art of 1894. At least in these specified areas of individual shows, a greater correlation between the literary "taste determinants" of journals, books, newspapers, etc., and the actual people who did the collecting, can be established. As a supplement to understanding why the collectors collected the kind of art they displayed in these shows and in their homes, brief mention will be made of various famous art auctions in New York during the eighties and nineties.³²

Finally, in connection with the central chapters of the thesis, personal correspondence will be employed. Such documentation will come mainly from the body of letters collected by the author and titled, "The Palmer-Hallowell Correspondence." Composed for the most part of letters of Mrs. Potter Palmer of Chicago and Sara Tyson Hallowell, a private art agent, these letters shed some

light on the development of taste in the minds of a few significant collecting "types" of the period. Here and there other correspondence will be utilized such as that between Camille Pissarro and his son Lucien, and this will be done mainly to develop the total picture of the collecting of the 90's.

Problem and procedure are closely linked. Let us, then, spend some time elaborating the problem set forth in the first part of this chapter. Only then will the procedure be seen to arise from the initial problem.

The author's original intent was to write the history of a collection of paintings in the Art Institute of Chicago. Since Mrs. Potter Palmer's collection of impressionist paintings formed the earliest and still one of the best collections, this collection was chosen. The knowledge, too, that there was said to be a certain amount of literature, both published and private, on Mrs. Palmer, was encouraging. Following the suggestion of the art historian, Hans Huth, at the Art Institute, we chose to define the scope of the research with the title: Impressionism Comes to Chicago, 1880-1900. However, the scope of the research was deceptive in its simplicity.

As the research progressed, problems sprang up where it was never thought they could exist. First, there was the strange nature of Mrs. Palmer's collection at the Art Institute. A glance at the list of paintings in the present Palmer collection at the Art Institute in the appendix may demonstrate this.³³ If the Palmer collection is an impressionist collection, what are we to say of the works of artists such as Cazin, Besnard, Daubigny, Raffaelli, Whistler and Zorn, alongside the works of such artists as Monet, Renoir and Sisley?³⁴ Or how explain the heavy emphasis in the Palmer collection on Delacroix and the Barbizon group, namely, Corot and Millet? Such a blend of styles is likewise characteristic of the painting that remains in the personal Palmer family collection.

But the strange blend of styles collected was only the first problem, and cheerful enthusiasm prevailed and readily shored up whetted historical appetite. Wait until the personal material of the Palmer legacy can be examined. But here again a cul-de-sac. It was well known that someone in the Palmer menage saw to it that shortly after the Chicago socialite's death her voluminous correspondence was burned. However, there were a few scraps of personal correspondence on the question of Mrs. Palmer's collecting of art. All of these have been incorporated into the chapters to come. But such disappointments as the loss of her total correspondence, barring the exceptions mentioned, only helped to bring out and focus more clearly new problems or rather series of problems: What was impressionism anyway? How are we to classify the artists of the second half of the nineteenth century France and Europe? Shall we take the almost trite classifications of romantic, realist, impressionist, post-impressionist and symbolist etc.?

Then we began studying the collections gathered together in the 1890's in this part of the country for exhibit. Several were called "Impressionist Exhibits," or "Shows of the Impressionist Artists." And yet, the more research done, the less and less was the use of the term "impressionist" justified as applied to the art that people collected in the nineties. Much less, then, could the title be applied to what people thought the art was, or what the critics thought such art to be. Our problem here continued until the historical analysis forced us to drop the word "impressionist" altogether. The word just did not describe the historical reality under study. Hardly any thoughtful critics of the period attempted to use the word "impressionism" when indicating the general trend of the art of the latter half of the century. Phrases such as "art nouveau" and above all, "L'art moderne," crop up with increasing frequency. True a good

number of critics began labelling artists "impressionists," and with a certain amount of justification. But a good number of these "impressionist" painters bore strange names and most of them would go unrecognized today as impressionists: Jongkind, Boudin, Monticelli, Bastien-Lepage, Dagan-Bouveret, Roll, Troyon, Fortuny, along with those mentioned above, Raffaelli, Cazin, Besnard, Daubigny, Whistler, and Zorn. There were times when even such a portraitist as Sargent was thought of as an impressionist. Often, too, the American critics were inconsistent. The artists just named were said "to be in the camp" of the impressionists and then a short time later, "to be out of the camp" of the impressionists, depending on who the critic might be, and where his sympathies lay.

In all of this discussion, someone familiar with aesthetic aspects of art can quite legitimately object--why not classify the artists as impressionist, realist, or romanticist etc. according to the aesthetic they followed? This would be well and good from the hindsight we possess today on the origins of this "new" art. But the cultural historian trying to understand the artists and the people in their surroundings must come to despair or at least frustration trying to follow this supposed insight. None of the impressionists had a logically worked out and highly organized system of principles that the painter himself was obliged to follow. Certainly, most of the inner core of "new" painters acknowledged a few basic principles or concepts. And yet even here, painters like Manet, Degas and Renoir changed their whole outlook at times and did so merely to court the approval of the "all high and holy" French Academic Salon. Regarding a present-day attempt to impose upon this whole group a unified aesthetic and something of a philosophy, Venturi has been as successful as anyone.³⁵ Yet, as we shall see later, his supposed categories would throw the doors open to almost any artists working from 1863 to the end of the century, if such

artists were not strict adherents to the academic principles or devotees of some art school or other.

Gradually an important fact emerged from this confusion. It is nothing other than the simple assertion that the people of the nineties thought of this art, which had been growing since Delacroix's time, as "modern art." Especially was this true of the art that developed independent of the tradition of academic principles. The most concrete evidence that people thought of this art as "modern" can be seen in the titles of the various periodicals brought out to defend this art of the painters of the eighties and the nineties. In France, La Vie Moderne, and L'Art Moderne, and in the American Midwest, Modern Art.³⁶ Thus it was decided that this study should be entitled, "Modern Art Comes to the Midwest, 1880 to 1890." No other title can justify the attitude of the American art critics of the nineties presented in chapters two and three. Consequently, it will be one of the main burdens of the following chapters to show clearly that "modern art" in the nineties meant simply that kind of art that was collected by the wealthy art fanciers of the times and exhibited by the museums of the American Midwest.

Beyond all these specific problems, the researcher into the cultural history of the American 1890's must also try to perceive differences of cultural attainment in the various sections of the country. Thus from a study of the art journals of the nineties one might come to the conclusion that the collectors of the East were far more advanced in their collecting tastes than those of the Midwest; or that the journals and the critics of the Midwest lacked much in the way of intelligent criticism and appreciation of "modern art." Perhaps, too the eastern art critics were not at all aware of or appreciative of what

intelligent art criticism there was in the Midwest. Yes, perhaps. But although approaching history with such a "sectional" view is common today, and although the critics of both East and Midwest in the nineties were often sharply critical of one another, still such a view of history does not fit the period under study. When we study the intellectual and cultural life of the nineties we find the important factor of cosmopolitanism all pervasive. Critics, artists and writers wandered all over the country, taking themselves wherever they thought they might have an audience and a publisher. Publishing houses were both international and national and the same firms published out of one, two or even three cities, in their attempt to reach the still very mobile American audience. Other manifestations of this same cosmopolitanism will be brought out in the next chapter, where documentation quite thoroughly undermines our efforts today to divide off East and West, North and South into areas of cultural blight and cultural promise and prestige.

It should be somewhat evident, then, why chapter three emphasizes only (at least as far as its title indicates), the Midwestern development of taste and interest in modern art. There were so few insights into the problem of sectional cultural rivalry to justify dwelling almost completely on the few Midwestern events and persons. Furthermore, firsthand research could be carried through only in the cities of Chicago, Cleveland and Louisville. We have had to be content with sketching in a general fashion the direction taste for modern art took in various other Midwestern cities such as St. Louis and Pittsburgh.³⁷

A few remarks are in order about the Fairs and the persons involved in them. After reading the narrative below, a question may arise in the reader's mind. Why were not more fairs and important collectors brought into the study?

Again, the only answer we can have recourse to is that the fairs and expositions described, and the artists, collectors, art agents, and museum directors written about, were (within the limits of our documentation) the most responsible for the growth of taste for modern art in the Midwest. The constant reference throughout the thesis to the highly successful but little-known art agent, Sara Tyson Hallowell, is only as it should be. That she was one of the most important people on both the American art educational and collecting scene is a fact we feel is well established by the thesis.

Finally, something should be said about chronology and the slightly unorthodox approach thought necessary when writing cultural history. Since this problem has been faced before, and by cultural historians far more competent than myself, I shall attempt to follow their technique in the chapters to come. It would have been nearly impossible to take each journal studied, and each critic read, analysing each one in a chronological fashion so as to demonstrate a progressive development of attitudes towards modern art and impressionism. If there was a progressive development of attitude, it did not come about mainly in a chronological manner. Furthermore, such an organizing principle as chronological sequence would lend no meaning to the material at hand. Rather a few sentences from John Rewald's history of post-impressionism (1886-1893) served as guidelines, cautions and principles: "...to study this period with its diversified tendencies as a series of individual portraits would mean losing track of that intricate interplay of events, that criss-cross of ideas, that overlapping of episodes which make those years so fascinating." The art historian frankly admits he has compromised between a strict chronological and total emphasis on the individual, "by singling out some of the leading figures of the period and

making all the others revolve around them."³⁸ Following Rewald's lead, we will then attempt to present with the aid of our materials a "corporate cultural mind" of the American 1890's concerning modern art and impressionism. However, let us not be mistaken. We do not wish to say that we have proved that this corporate cultural mind--the books, journals, critics, etc.--exercised direct cultural control over those who had potentially great taste. The point is not so much that the people whose taste was and became significant fell under the influence of this corporate cultural mind, but rather that if and when such people turned to the art literature of the times, the following chapters represent what they would have seen and read.

CHAPTER II

THE BARBIZON PAINTERS AS "MODERN ARTISTS" AND AMERICAN CRITICAL REACTION TO THEIR PAINTING AND THAT OF THEIR FOLLOWERS

An understanding of what the modern art of the 1890's was, and within that context, impressionism, and impressionist collecting, can hardly be attempted without a brief summary of French Academic art of the nineteenth century. Though French Academic art of the nineteenth century has been largely neglected by art historians and critics alike, we can piece together some tentative description of it. In nineteenth century France, academies regulated both the teaching of art and the honors and rewards of the artists.¹ When Napoleon perfected the organization of the Institute of France, he inaugurated a great system of official art patronage. The Institute ran the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, the Ecole de Rome, the Salon, and the major honor available to the artists was membership in this Institute. Even state officials were members and through their influence with the Minister of Fine Arts they controlled the medals, prizes, scholarships, purchase of pictures for public museums, and the awarding of commissions for mural decorations.² Needless to say, the patronage of the Institute fell to the docile pupils of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts and the other Institute schools. These prizes and diplomas gave to the commercialized society of the reigns of Louis Philippe and Louis Napoleon precisely the guarantee it required. "Thus, French official art tended to lose its traditional austerity and insensibly took the

color of the new wealth of Imperial and Republican Paris, and whatever art did not conform to the general taste of wealthy Paris had to shift for itself."³

What were some basic suppositions of academic art, and who were some of its most noteworthy exponents? The basis of official French art of the nineteenth century was the pseudo-classicism of the Empire, expressed in the practice and precepts of Jacques Louis David, (1748 - 1825), and his pupil, Jean-Dominique-Augustin Ingres, (1780 - 1867). The chief canons of these men were that drawing is to be preferred to color; that drawing means defining the bounding line of contour and of the object; that the analytical study of the antique and of the nude model is the chief basis for instruction in painting; and that skill in painting is best embodied in historical narrative, preferably classical, or in the representation of the nude.⁴

Of all the followers of these men in the nineteenth century, Leon Gerome was the painter who, by his direct teaching as well as by his own painting, dominated for nearly a half a century the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. To the classical tradition of painting of David and Ingres, Gerome brought a particular genre style. He put a scholar's conscience into his work, retaining always the classical theme, the nude, and the historical costume.⁵ Gerome's influence extended to the English academician, Laurence Alma-Tadema, who domesticated Hellas' Greek ideal into "a young British person with flaming hair, draped in cheesecloth for a chilly garden fete, conducted amid splendid marbles under the mournful gray light of the Mediterranean sun."⁶ Along with Gerome, Jean-Louis-Ernest Meissonier dominates the art of Louis Napoleon. World famous throughout the nineteenth century for his military paintings, Meissonier studied everything, "to the last button, down to the crop of grain which he actually bought that he might

observe it trampled in place.⁷ Coming later, but much in the same manner of execution as Meissonier, were Edouard Detaille and Alphonse de Neuville, the French illustrators of the war of 1870. The American critic, Clarence Cook, writing in 1888, claimed that the famous paintings of Detaille and de Neuville had made the heroism and the gallantry of the French, household words on both continents.⁸

Much more facile and fashionable were the well-known and benedalled academicians Thomas Couture and Carolus-Duran. Both painters were in demand as portraitists, following much in the tradition of Velazquez. Couture, however, had a dash of Hals in his style enlivening his canvases enough to earn for himself the name of the master of the "well-painted-bit,--le morceau bien peint." The so-called "dogma of the square touch" in painting, brilliant, velvety, narcereous, satiny surfaces, all describe Couture's work, depending, of course, on just who is describing it. Carolus-Duran was not as overbearing in his studio as Couture seems to have been, nor was his painting as much in demand as Couture's. Nevertheless, he was popular among art students in Paris, and a good many Americans passed through his studio, probably the most famous of them being John Singer Sargent.⁹ There were a great many other academic painters whose studios were in vogue, such as Benjamin Constant and Marc-Charles Gleyre. As is well known, such academic studios did not turn out just the academic artists. Actually, Manet studied for a time at Couture's and Gleyre's academy saw at least four of the later impressionists hard at work within its confines--Monet, Renoir, Sisley, and Basille.¹⁰

Two academicians who round out our survey were William Adolphe Bouguereau and Alexandre Cabanel. Although their ateliers were not so popular with the younger and rising painters, their own paintings were greatly sought by many

Americans in the nineteenth century. On the popular level in America, Bouguereau and Cabanel were the artists that were admired. Dreiser mentions Bouguereau in his novel, The "Genius." The hero, a promising young American artist, Eugene Witla, is first attracted to a large nude of Bouguereau's on display in a Chicago gallery shortly after he came to Chicago.¹¹ Fortunately, Witla's taste matured. However, such an attitude on the part of the ordinary American, probably justifies George Moore's comment in his Confessions of a Young Man, written in 1886: "See the Americans that come over here; what do they admire? Is it Degas or Manet they admire? No, Bouguereau and Lefebvre."¹² But these "darlings of the Salon shows," as Bouguereau and Lefebvre came to be called, were bought just as eagerly in France as in America.¹³

Although we should add a few more names to this summary list of academicians, such as David's student Isabey, Regnault, a student of Cabanel, and Nicolas Tassaert, all with examples of their work in the Chicago World's Fair Loan Exhibit, we must call a halt to this process somewhere. Most of the academic painters mentioned above, and a good dozen more, had works included in the Fair Exhibit also. It would be somewhat nonsensical to try to evaluate all the run-of-the-mill academicians, mainly because there is practically nothing of any worth written on them.¹⁴ Far more interesting is the problem we turn to now.

As is quite well known, the romantic movement in painting was well under way in France by the 1830's. The real "greats" of this movement were Gericault and Delacroix. They were the first "outsiders" in painting in the nineteenth century who, though given grudging acceptance by the Academy, (Delacroix was received as a member in the year he died, 1863), remained above and aloof from all the academy stood for. They sought their inspiration in the great Venetian

colorists, and in men like Rubens, adapting the historical motifs that were so common in Rubens' day to the happenings in the European world of affairs of 1830. Their canvases depicted historical battles from their own times and exotic themes borrowed from the then newly discovered French Algeria, Egypt, and the Holy Land. There were, too, a good many academic painters who liked what Delacroix was doing, but decided they wanted the prestige of being accepted by the Academy as well. Such were Decamps and Fromentin. Using some of the near eastern trappings of Delacroix and even some of his technique, their genius was mistaken to be on a par with his. Thus the Ryersons and the Fields of Chicago came to purchase their paintings of these "mediators" or "vulgarizers" and loaned them to the World's Fair Loan Exhibit in 1893. But such paintings fit into the whole collection at the World's Fair as well as in private collections because the art of these "mediators" partook of the splendor of high romantic painting. The Chicago Exposition could boast of at least two of Delacroix's paintings on loan from the New York collector, Thomas B. Clarke. In the popularity of such painters as Decamps and Fromentin, we have an instance of a strange phenomenon which is probably common in the history of painting but became much more noticeable in the course of the growth of modern art in the nineteenth century. This is the problem or question of "mediators," "hangers-on," or "vulgarizers," in the field of painting.

Traditionally in the history of art, great painters have arisen from a milieu, and around them have gathered disciples and students, all eager to follow in the footsteps of their great master. With the coming of the nineteenth century, individualism seemed to break down this custom. Great artists began to work by themselves. Especially was this true of men like Delacroix, Courbet and

many others. Schools of painting, where one's genius and creative expression were shackled by the canons of the Academy as filtered through the mind of the master under whom one studied, worshipping a set style, seeking the Salon's approval—all of these were to be shunned by the new painters of the modern art. This phenomenon, however, of a sort of "intergroup" of painters between the more famous and skilled artists causes many problems to the art historian today. Indeed, this is the problem that we are explaining and describing in this chapter. Historians today tend to call such painters, "vulgarisers,"¹⁵ while the modern artists of the period looked upon them often as hangers-on, men to be spurned because they dipped their ideals. On the other hand, the collectors of the period looked upon them as "mediators" or perhaps "compromisers," and many mistook their derivative genius for the real thing. But let us return to the course of nineteenth century French art, for only when we have seen the whole phenomenon in perspective will this problem take on added significance.

Although Eugene Delacroix had made his mark on the minds and hearts of the new generation of rising young modern artists,¹⁶ it was really the Barbison school that stimulated them and drove them on. As far back as 1836, Theodore Rousseau had settled at the village of Barbizon in the Fontainebleau forest.¹⁷ Around him and the little village gathered the painters Diaz, Millet, Daubigny, and off and on, Corot. These men made up the first group to go directly to nature for their sketches. In the beginning, none of them actually worked in the open, but rather worked on their drawings and sketches and the canvas, only touched outdoors, was finished later in their studios.¹⁸ Rousseau was the meticulous draftsman of the group, using low-keyed colors. Diaz excelled in "somber woodland interiors in which spots of light or strips of sky shining through the

branches would create almost dramatic contrasts." He loved color and the rough texture of heavily applied paint.¹⁹ Corot loved the hours of dawn and dusk, when nature was wrapped in a transparent veil, softening contrasts, hiding details, simplifying lines, planes and the essential forms and colors. Of all the Barbizon group, Millet took the fewest notes from nature. He told an American painter he could "fix any scene he desired to remember so perfectly in his memory as to be able to reproduce it with all the accuracy desired."²⁰

Two men, later to be called impressionists, Monet and Bazille, had spent 1863 in Chailly, another small town in the Fontainebleau forest near Barbizon. However, this was not the first time Monet had worked outdoors. Really, his apprenticeship in painting at seventeen had been working outdoors with the landscape painter, Eugene Boudin, from whom he learned a great deal.²¹ His contact with the Barbizon men at Chailly was to be the first of a series of crystallizing moments, a kind of first stage on the path of modern art. This was especially true for Monet, Bazille and Renoir. Again, Jean Renoir has left us his father's testimony of the greatness of these Barbizon men. "Rousseau amazed me, and Daubigny also, but I realized immediately that the really great painter was Corot. His work is for all time.... I loathed Millet. His sentimental peasants made me think of actors dressed up to look like peasants. I loved Diaz. He was someone I could grasp.... In Diaz's painting you can almost smell the mushrooms, dead leaves and moss."²²

A few years later, in 1865, Monet and Pissarro were at Honfleur on the Normandy coast, and Pissarro mentioned staying at the Saint-Simeon farm there. Here again, they were following in the footsteps of Boudin, Courbet, Schanne, Diaz, Troyon, Cals, Daubigny and Corot who had stayed at this pleasant farm while

studying nature.²³ So we see that not only did the modern artists--Barbizon men and impressionists--do a certain amount of imitating of one another's style, but they proceeded to one another's actual locales and haunts.

What, however, is the historical picture of the eighties and nineties when we turn to a sampling of American critical literature and data of this period? What was the then current reaction to this "modern art?" Using as a point of departure the Catalogue of the Loan Exhibit at the Chicago World's Fair of 1893, we find ourselves at the outset somewhat confused.²⁴ The Loan Exhibit catalogue does not present us with the clear and simplified picture of the art of the second half of the nineteenth century France presented above. John Rewald's nucleation of the Barbizon men around Rousseau, Diaz, Daubigny, Millet and Corot, (the "five" we might call them), is not at all evident in the catalogue. And yet the catalogue passed for a list of modern art. Certainly, all five Barbizon men are named and with substantial numbers of their paintings. But in this list of some sixty-one artists are artists who for the most part are not only unknown today, but unheard of. And we cannot simply say that such painters were classicists or cast off academicians by any standards, either ours or those of the period. Nor can we lump them one at a time into romanticist or Barbizon categories. Where would we place such artists as Jules Breton, Dagnan-Bouveret, Jules Dupré, Fortuny, Israels, Leys, Lhermitte, Michel, Troyon, and Monticelli, the strange artist whose works mediate between romanticism, realism, Barbizon-realism and impressionism?! And so our problem.

Turning to the substantial volumes by the New York critic, Clarence Cook, entitled Art and Artists of Our Times, and various other books and magazines of the nineties, we find a somewhat different picture of the art of the times. Cook

first of all divides the French artists into the "modern school of landscape-painting" and the "rustic" painters.²⁵ To Cook the most important modern landscapists were Michel, Huet, Corot, Rousseau, Diaz, Dupré, Daubigny, Troyon, Dagan-Bouveret, and Dues; "the rustics," Breton, Millet, Jacque and Rosa Bonheur.²⁶ Notice how neatly our Barbizon "five" fit in with the other unknown artists. Of this list Cook would consider Breton, Jacque, Lhermitte and Lerolle as four artists who "were all directly moved to their work by Jean-Francois Millet."²⁷ They were in other words, hangers-on. Other American art critics writing about the same time added a good many more names to a list of modern artists. It would be somewhat difficult to attempt to find a convergence of opinion on just who the American critics thought were the modern artists at least in the sense of trying to catalogue all of them in the traditional fashion--Barbizon and their hangers-on, and the impressionists and their hangers-on. Since Cook gives the most complete approach to the "five" that we today call the Barbizon group of painters along with their "mediators" or "hangers-on," we shall follow his survey, adding here and there further comment from other art critical sources as we proceed. As much as possible, the comment will be centered around one individual artist at a time.

For Cook, the origin of modern landscape painting had its roots in three English artists, Constable, Crome, and Turner, and in three French artists, Huet, Corot, and Rousseau.²⁸ Cook assures us that the French need not look only to the English as their forerunners, but they can rightly consider the eighteenth century French painter, Georges Michel, born thirteen years before Constable, as one of the first moderns. "Our times discovered Michel," he told his readers, and even Michel's wife witnessed to his sketching directly from nature.²⁹

However, no other writers of that period seem to know of Michel.

The work of Huet and Corot is then described. Paul Huet so loved nature that he and a friend spent a great deal of time studying it from a campsite on Sequin Island in the Seine. But we are not at all certain that Huet painted from nature, though he most probably did some sketching.³⁰ Another art book published in 1885, entitled The Gallery of Contemporary Art, purports to give us an illustrated review of works "chiefly of the present decade."³¹ Huet is mentioned in a survey of the history of the French Salon. In the controversy over whether members of the fourth class of the Institute were the best to act as the jury for Salon acceptance of any painting, the American editor, J. Eugene Reed, quotes from an article by the French critic G. Planche in 1840: "It is impossible for M. Blondel to approve the painting of M. Delacroix; yet M. Delacroix, in spite of his faults is an eminent painter, while M. Blondel as a painter is absolutely nil, even though he sit in the fourth class of the Institute. M. Bidault cannot approve the landscapes of MM. Huet and Rousseau; yet MM. Huet and Rousseau have an incontestable value, while M. Bidault signifies nothing in the history of his art..."³²

Clarence Cook's appreciation of Corot stems from the comment of the French critic, Theophile Silvestre, on this Barbizon painter: "It is only since ten years that Corot has been well known in France; his fame seems destined to live and to increase, but not to greatly move the public."³³ Corot's Italian painting reminded Cook of the American painter who was most responsible for stimulating wealthy Easterners to buy Barbizon works, the New Englander, Tom Robinson.³⁴

Another critic, Eugene Reed, in his essay at the end of The Gallery of Contemporary Art, recalls that Corot was one of the artists who had been selected

to the "democratic" jury of examination for the Salon of 1849.³⁵ Still another American critic, William A. Armstrong, in The Masterpieces of French Art published in 1883, thought of Corot as "one of the best of modern French landscape painters."³⁶ Again as in Cook's book, Armstrong's analysis of Corot is made up of a pastiche from various French critics ending with Corot's own description of a French sunrise, complete with his own excited interjections.

In 1892, W.C. Brownell, contrasting the Barbizon painter, Corot, with the technique of Monet wrote: "Corot painted his picture from nature, but put the Corot into it in his studio."³⁷ Brownell favored Barbizon and this group's technique over the impressionists and Monet: "Delacroix, Corot, or Ingres' works show not only temperament, but the position of the painter in regard to the whole intellectual world so far as he touches it at all."³⁸ Clara Stranahan, a popular woman critic of the nineties, in her elaborate classification of the artists of the nineteenth century, classified Corot along with Huet and Rousseau as a landscape artist of the "naturalist" school.³⁹ For her the naturalist school was a subdivision of the romanticists! Strangely enough, the American artist, Will H. Low, insisted that Corot had no direct influence that was apparent in the continuity of modern painting.⁴⁰ He cherished this opinion, even though he had to admit Corot, along with Millet and Rousseau, was one of the three "most individual painters of our time."⁴¹ Summing up this American attitude toward Corot, we find him to have been everything from an early impressionist to a naturalist romantic painter with hardly a follower. Surely this is a different attitude towards this Barbizon painter than we find today.

Corot, thought Cook, was in his own way something of a "classic" artist. Theodore Rousseau, sixteen years his junior "belonged wholly to the new school

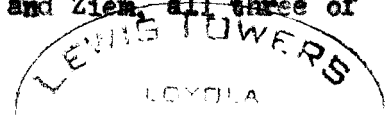
that inherited from Rembrandt, if indeed, any master led him to the presence of nature."⁴² After studying for some time under a sculptor-friend of his father's, M. Haire, Rousseau took fate into his hands, bought colors and brushes, "went to Montmartre, and there seated at the foot of the old Church, he set himself to paint what he saw before him."⁴³ All of his life, Rousseau coveted academic honors which were granted to him only towards the end of his life, and even these he did not think were sufficient. According to Cook, it was Rousseau who spoke so eloquently of the modern artist shackled by the conventions of the academy in the presence of Napoleon III in 1866. The same artist also crusaded to have the Emperor protect his beloved forest of Fontainebleau in which he lived and painted for nineteen years.⁴⁴ Cook sums up his work with this praise: "But Rousseau is not to be thought of as the painter of any one place or any one aspect of nature.... Rousseau was the master of many chords."⁴⁵ In his mastery "of many chords,"--for example, nature in her wildest and tenderest aspects--Rousseau comes off better than Corot, Daubigny, Diaz and Jules Dupré.

Cook gives the impression that Rousseau painted almost completely from nature. Later Brownell modified the statement. "Rousseau made the most careful studies and then combined them in his studio."⁴⁶ And Charles de Kay writing in The Century for February, 1891, explained how Rousseau worked with Diaz at Barbizon and was associated with Decamps, Dupré, Ary Scheffer, and the sculptor Barye.⁴⁷ Such communication with artists of classical norms and ideals, (Decamps and Scheffer), with those of more liberal ideas, (Dupré, Diaz and Rousseau), helps us understand why people would buy one as well as the other artist's work.

Sharing equal honors with Corot and Rousseau in Clarence Cook's study is

Narcisse-Virgilio Diaz de la Peña, known simply as Diaz. Like others of these modern artists, Diaz got his start painting porcelain.⁴⁶ The "strange genius" Adolphe Monticelli lived with Diaz for some time, and they shared a studio together. "From him Diaz borrowed many of his striking effects, though he never reached the weird romanticism of Monticelli...."⁴⁹ Perhaps it was Diaz's early delight in porcelain painting that inspired him to fill some of his pictures with nymphs, odalisks and cupids. At any rate by 1851, he had received several medals as a result of his showings at the various Salons.⁵⁰ Among the painters showing at the Loan Exhibit in Chicago in 1893, Diaz was a favorite, although only three of his paintings were on display. One of the most popular of his paintings at the Fair and later, (to judge by the many reproductions of it in dozens of art books), was his Descent of the Bohemians. John LaFarge, speaking in the Scammon lectures given at the Art Institute of Chicago in 1903 could say in retrospect of Diaz's life as a painter: "In the middle of the fifties when I was first there [In Paris]....Courbet had made his appearance...Manet was known to only a few of us...Corot was accepted. Rousseau and Dupré also, even to some degree by men who disliked them and whom they disliked. Diaz was the fashion, a pet for almost all the differing schools. Men who thought Rousseau stupid, heavy, inartistic, could tell me that they recognized in Diaz a real artist compared to the bigger man, and those who told me that were among our teachers."⁵¹ LaFarge adds that Diaz's Descent of the Bohemians, exhibited at the World's Fair, was very famous, and this painting was "the one by which he established his reputation."⁵²

Another well known critic and friend of John LaFarge's, Royal Cortissoz, writing for The Century in 1896 linked Diaz to Monticelli and Ziem, all three of



whom were, "...enthusiastic colorists by whom a certain taste for caprice and dream was cultivated in common." No man in French art, continued Cortissos, was more genuine, sane and superior than Diaz. Under Theodore Rousseau he interpreted the forests of Fontainebleau. But the laughing figures of his landscapes come from a dreamland of his own, a reflection, perhaps of his own warm and happy nature.⁵³ According to Cortissos, all of Diaz's warm nature was poured into his work. He would work feverishly, emptying tube after tube onto his palette, using his palette knife to build up a thick impasto. Our critic concludes that Diaz was a real landscape painter, "one of the greatest France has ever produced."⁵⁴ Diaz was not unknown to Midwestern collectors before the Chicago World's Fair. In 1888, the alert and enterprising editor and publisher of New York's Art Amateur, Montague Marks, spotted Chicago's Mr. Potter Palmer at the Chickering Hall auction of Mr. Albert Spencer's great collection of Barbizon painting.⁵⁵ It is really quite surprising to see that as early as 1888, New York's Spencer had as many as sixty-eight examples of the paintings of the Barbizon group and in fact as we shall see, was selling them to make room for his rapidly growing collection of impressionist paintings. Of Mr. Palmer, Marks comments: "Another excellent Millet, A Shepherdess went for \$7500 to Mr. Potter Palmer of Chicago who made all his purchases with judgment." He likewise invested in Diaz's The Assumption of the Virgin for \$2650, and Rousseau's Sunset for \$7300.⁵⁶ This personal, direct interest of Potter Palmer's in buying Barbizon painting at the New York auctions is worthy of note. We are forced to reconsider his personal art interest and collecting habits.⁵⁷ The general impression has been that his wife, Bertha Honore Palmer was almost single-handedly responsible for the taste and care with which the Palmer collection of pictures

were purchased.⁵⁸ Finally, Clarence Cook referring to Diaz's death sums up his own attitude towards Diaz by remarking: "Of the great and famous group to which we owe the best of modern art, only Dupré and Daubigny were left alive."⁵⁹

Of Jules Dupré, Cook says but little. Nor did the painter receive much attention from the other critics of the period.⁶⁰ Critics of a later date were left to assess Dupré. Thus James Gibbons Huneker classifies him alongside of the "five" Barbizon men. Perhaps the reason for this neglect by the critics lies in the fact that Dupré's output was small and, as LaFarge observed, he was quite a "silent man." This silence seems to have made Dupré's remark at the funeral of Diaz a well-remembered one: "The sun has lost one of its most beautiful rays."⁶¹

Charles Daubigny was in some ways the most influential of the men of Barbizon. Cook thinks he "painted too much for his fame, although he did not carry the pernicious trade of pot-boiling to such a disastrous point as Diaz." Our critic ventured the reason why the public liked his work: "only his inborn love of his art, and his deep enjoyment of nature, kept that work at the high point where, by consent of artists and the public it stands secure."⁶² As we saw earlier, Daubigny was the only one of the Barbizon group who worked almost entirely from nature. In an attempt to bring nature and himself into closer communion, he hit upon the idea of building a river punt in which he could live and paint. As early as 1857, Daubigny could be seen drifting over the Seine and Oise waterways in his "botin" ensconced in its varicolored cabin with his son manning the oars. He made of these rivers his own "Fontainebleau."⁶³ Philip G. Hamerton, the widely read and prolific British art critic, in his review of the Salon of 1863, criticized Daubigny for his lack of drawing but had to admit that

the artist was "...chief of the French landscape painters, so far as fame goes."⁶⁴

Like Corot, Daubigny too, had visited Italy but in the late 1830's. Unlike Robert; he had gained fame by his copper etchings and wood engravings.⁶⁵ In 1892, Robert J. Wickenden in The Century, insisted that "we readily associate the names of Corot and Daubigny."⁶⁶ Though Corot was twenty years older than Daubigny, they were good friends. In contrasting Daubigny with Corot he helps us understand what the critic of the nineties thought of Daubigny. "Daubigny...gave himself up more to the impression of the moment, endeavoring to express the local qualities of form and color in all their brilliancy and freshness." After recalling the artist's sketching and drawing directly from nature, Wickenden states plainly how Daubigny achieved the brilliant quality, his vigorous composition and the effects of movement. "Here and there the painter had increased its vigor by laying on color broadly with the palette knife...."⁶⁷ After some stories about the Daubigny "studio-boat" on the Oise at Auvers, and Millet and Rousseau visiting him, Wickenden turns to the painter's several Moonrises of 1861, 1865, and 1868. With these, "...he wished to record his impressions of those most beautiful but more delicate effects which last for so short a time that their realization must be the result of careful thought and patient creative labor, rather than of direct outdoor interpretation."⁶⁸ Where would Wickenden finally classify Daubigny among the stream of modern artists of the period? "He painted better than he knew," when with palette knife and brush he dashed in effects instantaneously.... He was among the first 'impressionists,' and 'realism' was one of his mottos, but how different his art from that too often called by these names today."⁶⁹

Again, Daubigny was already well known and thought of in the Midwest before 1892 when Wickenden wrote his article in The Century. Montague Marks, the observant editor of the Art Amateur, had not failed to see what Mr. Potter Palmer was showing around New York in 1889 as he made his way West to Chicago, after a "buying spree" in Europe. "Mr. Potter Palmer takes home with him to Chicago a number of important pictures bought during his recent stay in Europe." Marks cites a study by William Dannat, the New York painter and student at the Munich school, Italy and Spain,⁷⁰ and "a fair Daubigny."⁷¹ Whatever this "fair Daubigny" was, it apparently was not shown at the Loan exhibit of the Chicago Fair. There are three Daubignys mentioned in the Loan catalogue, but only Daubigny's Banks of the Oise was from a Chicago collector, the railway magnate, Charles T. Yerkes. Beyond this, we have some literary evidence, which though not conclusive regarding Midwestern interest in Daubigny, nevertheless, is interesting. Dreiser's painter-protagonist of The "Genius," Eugene Witla, thinks of various members of the Barbison group as "classic figures:" "If he [Witla] could paint something which would be purchased by the Metropolitan Museum in New York, he would then be somewhat of a classic figure, ranking with Corot and Daubigny, and Rousseau of the French or with Turner and Watts and Millais of the English."⁷²

Constantine Troyon and Ernest-Ange Duez are the last two landscapists of the modern school to merit consideration by Clarence Cook. "Troyon," he writes, "is another of the leaders in the group of great names we are considering."⁷³

Up until Dupre introduced him to the Barbison men, Troyon had been content with the ideals of his teachers, followers of the classical school of David. Troyon, too, is the first "of modern animal painters," and this genre of

painting seems to have been instrumental in getting him to change his violent use of pigment to a milder method. This desire to paint with a subdued technique, "we may shrewdly suspect, was in sympathy with the desire he felt to paint more in harmony with the views of picture-buyers and picture-dealers."⁷⁴ Troyon was esteemed as the "French Constable" and another writer of the period suggests that because Constable's pictures were shown at the Salon at an early period in Troyon's career, that it is through Troyon that Constable influenced the modern school of French landscapists.⁷⁵ Whatever the truth of this may be, Troyon was certainly considered as a full-fledged member of the school of painting that centered around the Barbison five. There was little notice of Troyon in the American critical literature, although he was certainly known as one of the Barbison group in the Midwest. It is in this context that Hamlin Garland includes him when speaking of the Loan exhibit at the World's Fair in 1893.⁷⁶

It is only when describing the work of Ernest Dues that Cook suggests problems connected with the use of the term en plein air, or les pleinairists. For Cook himself, the term plein air did not imply much of a problem. To him it meant simply, "the artists who work wholly out-of-doors."⁷⁷ Interestingly, enough, the painting that Cook reproduces is Dues's portrait of his friend Ulysse Butin painting outdoors near the beach with the sea behind him. This is the same artist Butin working en plein air, that Mrs. Stranshan classified as a type of impressionist painter.⁷⁸ Dues, too, is classified as an impressionist by Clara Stranshan, but one on whom the state has bestowed honors. Cook is inclined to think, however; that Dues compromised creative standards to get the honors. In his portrait of Mme. D. in the Salon of 1886, his subject matter and the arrangement of the subject is trite if not actually vulgar.⁷⁹ Cook is also

quite convinced that the National Government joined forces with the dealers to "exert an almost irresistible power in keeping an artist in the conventional path or in forcing him back to it."⁸⁰ In this country, Duss was known for a few works, one exhibited in the Salon of 1879, and the other in the Salon of 1881. The former was a triptych of the story of St. Guthbert, (bought by the French Government for \$1600), and the latter a portrait of the military painter, Alphonse de Neuville.⁸¹

Under the classification of "rustic painters," Cook includes some eight to ten artists.⁸² Of this group, we shall choose only four, namely Jules Breton, Jean-Francois Millet, Charles Jacque, and Ross Bonheur. With these painters we will bring to a close the American critical estimation of the painters clustered around the Barbizon group.

One of the most popular French artists in America in the eighties and nineties was Jules-Adolphe Breton. In outlining Breton's lifelong purpose in art, Cook suggests why he was so well-liked in this country. Breton "devoted himself to singing the praises of the goddess, the good goddess of poverty as she presides over the farms and cottages of the French peasantry."⁸³ Further, Breton's idea of poverty was not that of Millet, rather it was, says Cook, poverty portrayed "in the right ideal fashion...not lean, hollow-eyed and ragged, but stout, cheerful, and well-fed...." This is why Breton has had the good fortune to be accepted by the whole world of amateurs, connoisseurs and dealers "as the safe and conservative portrayer of that poverty."⁸⁴ Breton's pictures sold as fast as he could paint them, and one of his critics insists "'that popular and artistic opinion is more united in favor of the merits of Jules Breton than upon any other living French painter.'" In comparing Breton to Millet, Cook does his best

to set Millet well above Breton as the superior artist. "There is in truth, no comparison between the two men on the score of actual faithfulness to the facts, but it by no means follows that Jules Breton is not true to his own ideal. He paints the French peasant as he sees her through a mist of sentiment and reflection...and for the sake of making pictures."⁸⁵ Breton was not, of course, a peasant but a well-to-do Parisian.

Millet, on the other hand, "was himself a peasant, born of peasants, and living all of his life among peasants." Furthermore, all or most of his subjects are members of his own family. Coincidentally, the picture by Breton that Cook reproduces in his volume, and the one he thinks most characteristic of the man is The Song of the Lark. This painting was eventually purchased by Mrs. Henry Field of Chicago and appeared in the World's Fair loan exhibit. The Song of the Lark for Cook "is a piece of pure sentimentality...", and studio "machinery" is quite evident.⁸⁶ In an attempt to balance his criticism, Cook remarks that Breton's pictures must be looked at as idyllic poems, as creations of fancy and not as real interpretations of peasant-life in France.⁸⁷ Another reason adduced for Breton's success was that his pictures were a relief to what many people found objectionable in Millet's rendering of the same subject. Really, thinks Cook, the public took Millet to be the stern realist and Breton to be the poet, and for years preferred the poet to the realist. To verify Breton's popularity we have only to look to the sale of the late Mrs. Morgan's pictures Breton's The Communicants brought \$45,000, "a picture that had no merit whatever...."⁸⁸ Of Breton's peasant subjects, Cook thinks it sufficient to quote M. Phillippe Burty⁸⁹ quoting Millet's remarks on Breton's Calling Home of the Gleaners: "'M. Breton in his village-pictures, always paints the girls who will

not remain there."⁹⁰ Cook concludes his treatment of Breton with a passing mention of a series of his pictures on peasant-life themes, among them being another painting on display at the Loan exhibit at the Chicago World's Fair, The Colza Gatherers, in the collection of Collis P. Huntington.

As we might suspect, Breton was popular with the Salon jury. Silvestre mentions his Evening that was on display at the Salon of 1880. Likewise his Evening in a Hamlet of Finisterre in the Salon of 1882 deserved to be singled out as one of the choicest works of its class.⁹¹ Viardot can do no more than list Breton's various Salon medals and quote the English critic, Hamerton, saying of the painter's Benediction that it "is technically a work of singular importance in modern art for its almost perfect interpretation of sunshine."⁹² There is little mention of Jules Breton in the periodical literature in America, and this in spite of the quite definite fact of his popularity among collectors. What does seem clear is that Breton was surely an imitator of Millet and, in the truest sense of the word, a "mediator" for this famous landscape painter.

Though Breton was a favorite of American collectors, it was really Millet who seems to have captured the fancy and delight of the American people as a whole. Millet's paintings did not quite have the lyrical titles of those of Breton or of other painters such as Josef Israels and Leon Lhermitte. The eight paintings of Millet displayed in the Loan exhibit in the Chicago World's Fair testify to the straightforward and utterly simple, even harsh approach to rural scenes that was Millet's.⁹³

By the 1880's the American collector's thirst for Millet's paintings was thoroughly whetted and displayed when the painter's Angelus was up for auction at the Secretan sale in New York. Montague Marks retold the details of the sale

In the August, 1889 issue of the Art Amateur. The three principals concerned in the bidding were Antonin Proust for the French Government, an agent for the Corcoran Gallery in Washington, and the leading American collector of the day, Mr. James F. Sutton, bidding for himself and the American Art Association.⁹⁴

Though the agent from the Corcoran Gallery bid up to 100,000 francs, Sutton's spirited bidding was too much for him. Soon Sutton had the French Government to wrestle with and from here on the auction took on the atmosphere of an international Olympic soccer game. "But M. Proust had an unlimited order, it is said, to buy the picture. At his offer of 502,000 francs, the auctioneer was loudly called on to knock it down, and he did so amid cries of 'Vive La France.' But Mr. Sutton--unheard apparently by the auctioneer--had offered 1000 francs more and he insisted on the bidding being resumed. A perfect hubbub followed, and the excited Frenchmen would have won at this point had not the auctioneer been warned that the legality of the sale would be disputed. Then amid cheers and much disturbance the bidding was reopened. Mr. Sutton offered 50,000 francs more. M. Proust bid 553,000 francs, and at that price The Angelus became the property of the French nation, and everybody--that is nearly everybody--was delighted." Montague concludes: "It seemed eminently proper that Millet's masterpiece should remain in France."⁹⁵ Surprise of surprises, Proust seems to have been so taken with the desire of the Americans to have the Angelus, that he turned around and surrendered the prior claim of the French government. Queries Marks somewhat confusedly, "What will be done with Millet's Angelus now that Mr. Sutton has secured it for his firm, the American Art Association?"⁹⁶ This was, indeed, an apt question. But strangely enough, The Angelus did finally end up back in the hands of the French Government.⁹⁷

Yes, Americans of the eighties and nineties were quite "mad" about Millet. Nor is it fanciful to think that they had a real hierarchy of values when it came to the hangers-on of the Barbizon group, such as Breton. Writing in the middle nineties from Boston, in a book with perhaps something of a tinge of "Anglo-Saxon Supremacy" about it, called Art For America, William Ordway Partridge in the chapter "Manhood in Art," spoke well of Millet. "Great art as well as great artists are wholly sincere," he wrote. "What is it that makes Millet's peasant different from the thousand imitations of him that have sprung up on every side? One is fact, the other is fancy. The tender, earnest, religious nature of the great French painter loved and understood the meagre, overworked, starved life of this...class. Did he not go down and talk and live with them, and learn every phase of their existence? Not even Victor Hugo has done so much for them as Millet."⁹⁸

Cook had earlier emphasized the peasant origins of Millet. The New York critic recounted the trials of Millet's early life: his work in the fields; studying the classics under the village curate; working with an artist at Cherbourg and his obtaining a pension from the city of Cherbourg to study under Paul Delaroche in Paris; leaving Delaroche and settling in the small Fontainebleau forest town of Barbizon to avoid the cholera epidemic of 1848.⁹⁹ As usual, Cook then turned to making some remarks about several of what he considered Millet's outstanding paintings. What Cook calls Sheep-Shearing, a painting of Millet's belonging to Mr. Schaus of New York, may well be the painting in the Loan Exhibit at the Fair called The Sheepshearers, though Mr. Peter C. Brooks of Boston was the donor for the Loan exhibit. And although Millet's Peasants Carrying a New-born Calf in the Loan exhibit was on loan from Mrs. Henry Field of Chicago, this

too, may be the painting referred to by Cook which he called Two Men Carrying a Newborn Calf to the Stable on a Litter.¹⁰⁰ At the time Cook was writing, Mr. Probasco of Cincinnati was the owner of this last-mentioned painting. Nevertheless, as we shall see below, it would be quite possible for both Schaus and Probasco to have parted with these paintings as they both had large and important auctions of their collections in the 1880's. Indeed, the eighties and nineties were famous for the great number of auctions of Barbizon painting.

Viardot-Armstrong's The Masterpieces of French Art, quoting another foreign critic, manages to get across another interesting classification of this "newest phase" of French art. "Edwin About says: 'The late M. Millet, besides being a landscape painter, was a great figure-painter. In the opinion of many, and those not the admirers of the newest phase of French art, the Courbet-Manet-Corot school, he was the first French painter of his time.'"¹⁰¹ Although Clara Stranahan in her history of French art would classify Millet as the leading rustic painter, the "results of romanticism,"¹⁰² Americans also would see Millet's paintings along with those of such French artists as Manet, Monet, Renoir, Sisley and others. This was due mostly to the fact that Paul Durand-Ruel, the staunch supporter of the latter group, had been the first dealer to collect and exhibit the Barbizon group's painting. Camille Pissarro wrote to his son Lucien about the great collection of paintings Durand-Ruel had taken to New York for what later came to be known as the New York Impressionist Show of 1886. Rewald adds this explanatory note: "Leaving his gallery under the direction of his son Joseph, Paul Durand-Ruel left for New York on March 13, 1886, accompanied by his son Charles with 300 canvases, works of Millet, Manet, Monet, Renoir, Sisley, Pissarro, Degas, Whistler, Morisot, Boudin...."¹⁰³

Strange as it may seem, even the Potter Palmers, with their fine collection of Barbison painting did not see fit to loan any of their paintings of Millet to the World's Fair loan exhibit. As we saw above, in 1888, Potter Palmer bought another of Millet's Shepherdesses, and presumably one example was enough for the Loan exhibit. Millet was no more or less modern than any of his contemporaries. This is why the popular magazine of the Chautauqua Movement, The Chautauquan felt duty bound to explain the meaning of modern art for its large Midwestern audience. Horace Townsend in the December, 1894, issue of the magazine, wrote sympathetically of the larger and broader changes that modern painting had introduced. Then, in almost the same breath, he mentioned the artists Corot, Millet, Degas and Monet.¹⁰⁴ A Rutgers professor of art history in his compact and succinct art history survey, summed up what all our former critics thought about Millet—a real peasant painter, indebted to Delacroix for many insights. However, he added a few mild strictures claiming his sentiment had a "literary bias, as in his far-famed but indifferent Angelus...." Furthermore, Millet was neither a strong draftsman nor a brushman, but had a large feeling for form, and great simplicity in line. But he was, virtually, the discoverer of the peasant as an art subject.¹⁰⁵ In general, then, the writing of the period was appreciative of Millet and his work, thus accounting for much of his popularity among American collectors.

Before leaving the subject of this most famous of the Barbison men, it might be well to indicate that in the American critics' appreciation of Millet as a modern artist, we do not have another example of cultural lag peculiar to American taste. One of the most advanced and intelligent painters of this period, Vincent Van Gogh, came from the "dusty boredom of the Antwerp Academy" to

Paris in 1886, where his brother Theo was directing a small gallery for Boussod & Valadon on the Boulevard Montmartre.¹⁰⁶ Up until that time, the Barbizon masters enthralled Van Gogh's creative imagination. This was the school that for him represented modern art. "He professed a boundless admiration for Corot, Troyon, Daubigny, and above all Millet. He not only believed that Millet could never be surpassed, but actually thought that since Millet's death in 1875 there had been a general artistic decline."¹⁰⁷ In other words, he knew practically nothing of the impressionists. And though his ardor for the great Millet eventually cooled he, nevertheless, could speak of this whole group with enthusiasm in a letter to his sister in 1888. "'I hope you'll go often to the Luxembourg Museum and that you will go and look at the modern paintings in the Louvre, so that you can get an understanding of what is a Millet, a Jules Breton, a Daubigny, a Corot. You can have the rest, with the exception of Delacroix. Though now one works in quite a different manner, the work of Delacroix, of Millet, of Corot remains and the changes don't affect it."¹⁰⁸ Writing to his friend, Emile Bernard, from the asylum at St. Remy in December of 1889, he commented on Millet a propos of Bernard's religious painting, The Adoration of the Magi: "Personally I love things that are real, that are possible.... If I am at all capable of a spiritual thrill, then I bow before that study by Millet which is powerful enough to make one tremble; peasants carrying back to the farm a calf just born in the fields. That, my friend, all people have felt from France to America."¹⁰⁹ Perhaps Van Gogh is referring to the very painting that was displayed in the World's Fair Loan exhibit in Chicago from the Field collection, Peasants Carrying a Newborn Calf. Certainly it was the same subject by this great artist that captivated him four years earlier.

If Millet is considered at the present time the greatest "modern" artist treating pastoral subjects, Charles Jacque is today surely one of the least known. His detailed etchings of rustic scenes and animals will give us the feeling that he was one of the many artists whose mediocre inspiration found a substantial livelihood working in the shadow of the greater artists. With Jacque, the pastoral scenes once interpreted so freshly by Millet and others reached a new "academic" stage. American critics of the nineties seemed to agree on this. Despite the fact that French critics say Jacque has "powerful charm," Cook compares his work to the naturalist's scientific descriptions of nature.¹¹⁰ Van Dyck would find some praise for him: "The poetry of the school [Barbizon] is his, and technically he is fine in color at times, if often rather dark in illumination.... He can show the nature of sheep with true feeling."¹¹¹ Would this be a compliment? It most probably would be to Jacque. The fact that this much-honored Chevalier of the Legion of Honor was once a chicken-farmer and "published the Poulailler [Hen-House], a monography of indigenous and exotic fowls,"¹¹² does much to explain his genre.

Though the Chicago Loan exhibit had none of Jacque's etchings, it did include two "animal-pastoral" scenes entitled A Pastoral and Sheep by the most famous rustic painter of the day, Rosa Bonheur. There is a rather interesting coincidence in Rosa Bonheur's place in the Loan exhibit. By 1893, Chicago, as well as the nation, had grown quite familiar with her work. The earliest art exhibits in Chicago were sponsored by the Annual Interstate Industrial Expositions, begun in 1873. In the Second Annual Exhibit held in 1874, Rosa Bonheur shared the honors with Edward Dubuffe with two landscapes, The Retreat and Street Scene in Paris.¹¹³ This woman artist came from an artistically talented

family, her father, two brothers and sister also being artists. Of all the strange and unusual women painters of the day,--Mary Cassatt, Eva Gonzales, Bertha Morisot, to mention only a few resident in Europe and whose work stood the test of time--Rosa Bonheur was surely one of the most unusual.

Although Cook does not draw the parallel between Rosa Bonheur and other women painters of the period, he does think she belongs with "Georges Sand, George Eliot, Rachel, Harriet Martineau, Charlotte Bronte." The critic singles out as her most famous work, the Horse Fair, exhibited in 1853, engraved by Landseer and published in London shortly after.¹¹⁴ The print-publication in London of this painting may account for the French critic, Theodore Duret's remark to Manet in 1871: "'The English, with regard to French painters, like only Gerome, Rosa Bonheur, etc....'"¹¹⁵ The open air nature of her studies apparently demanded that Rosa Bonheur adapt herself to the conditions under which she had to sketch her animal subjects. Consequently, she was most frequently seen outfitted in a pair of trousers and a blouse, "easily passing for a handsome boy with the rough but kindly human bovines...who browsed and chewed the cud about her." Speaking of her fame in England, Cook gives a remark of Hamerton's indicating that her paintings were so popular, and the prices for them so high, that she must be averaging nearly one hundred pounds for each day's labor.¹¹⁶ Although Van Dyck admits the popularity of both Rosa and her brother Auguste in the field of animal painting, he does not admit that they had, "that fine artistic feeling which would warrant their popularity."¹¹⁷

Judging from Rosa Bonheur's popularity in the American art and literary journals of the times, we are lead to suspect a kind of native American prejudice for an artist whose whole interest was taken up with the portrayal of the

actions of country animals. As early as 1881, the Midwest's "Evangelistic-literary" magazine, The Chautauquan, in a lengthy article entitled: "What Woman Has Done In Art For One Thousand Years," discusses the merits of Rosa Bonheur.¹¹⁸ Writes the author, the Reverend Mr. Corning: "Having chosen the animal kingdom as the field of her artistic labors, it may readily be imagined that her studio bears some resemblance to a barnyard or menagerie."¹¹⁹ Naturally enough when the Art Amateur's cosmopolitan Montague Marks stopped in Paris in 1884, and heard nothing of Rosa Bonheur, he was a little surprised. Never daunted, Marks made his way out to be on the edge of the Fontainebleau forest where Rosa Bonheur, "lives with a complete menagerie of dogs, cats, oxen, horses, geese, turkeys, and even lions, wolves and tigers, studying and sketching at every hour of the day their attitudes, their manners, their movements." Rosa was getting up in years when Marks saw her, and he describes her close-cropped white hair, blouse and trousers ensemble singling out her "fine and energetic profile," which, "makes her head resemble curiously that of Victor Hugo before he wore a beard."¹²⁰

Yes, Miss Bonheur was popular. Even The Century Magazine, which would reach a far wider sampling of American popular taste than the Art Amateur, featured an illustrated article on her by a Henry Bacon, in October of 1884.¹²¹ Six years later, in 1890, Rosa Bonheur was again the subject of some remarks by the woman editor of The Art Interchange, although it is difficult to say just how Miss Josephine Redding intended her observation. Speaking of Rosa Bonheur's collaboration with Edward Dubuffe on a large painting of a bull, she mentions that Rosa Bonheur painted the bull, and Dubuffe painted her figure with her arm around the neck of the bull.¹²² In any event, by the end of the World's Fair

art exhibit in 1893, Miss Bonheur's popularity was fading. The Midwest avant
garde art journal, Modern Art, thought her art at the Fair very much overrated. ¹²³

Much more could be written on the various artists who surrounded or rather stood between the Salon on the one hand and the dynamic groups of painters with new ideas and new experiments. Many other such "compromisers" could be rescued from the wake of the Barbizon group, but this would be purposeless. Even so, some of these men will appear in the following chapter, men like the Frenchman Henri Lerolle and Joseph de Nittis, neither of whom could be in any way considered today as impressionists. And yet because of more or less external and superficial technique, they were considered impressionist by their contemporaries in America. In actual fact they belonged more to the Salon-academic and Barbizon tradition if they belong to any school at all. However, what we have tried to show in this chapter is that the five men of Barbizon plus their hangers-on were thought of and accepted by American critics of the eighties and the nineties as modern artists. Furthermore, this appellation of "modern" implied that these painters were in some way different, and in some ways better, than the ordinary Salon painters of the day. There was something new and something strange about their works, and every now and then they were a bit exciting. Finally, in some rare cases, as with Duez and Daubigny, they were even thought of as impressionists.

Our narrative of the American critical reaction to modern art continues. Now a later and more creative group absorbs our attention, a group today known as the impressionists. But here even John Rewald, the historian of impressionism, bolsters our belief that such a label is inadequate to understand the context of the art of the period. Speaking of the first impressionist show in 1873,

he tells us that the great dealer, Durand-Ruel published at that time a huge catalogue with three-hundred of the choicest paintings in his possession listed therein. The works spanned the whole gamut of the newest and the most modern painting of the nineteenth century: Delacroix, Rousseau, Millet, Corot, Courbet, Diaz, Troyon, Manet, Sisley, Pissarro and Degas. Rewald continues: "The introduction was written by Armand Silvestre, a critic who had frequently appeared at the Cafe Guerbois and who now insisted that there was a logical line of development and progress which led from Delacroix, Corot, Millet and Courbet to the young generation.... Recommending this voluminous catalogue to the reader he wrote: 'It is to the public that these endeavors are directly submitted, to the public which makes reputations even though appearing only to accept them and which does not fail to turn away, one day, from those who are satisfied to serve its taste, toward those who make an effort to guide.'"¹²⁴

CHAPTER III

AMERICAN CRITICAL REACTION TO THE FRENCH IMPRESSIONIST PAINTERS AND THEIR FOLLOWERS AS FACTORS DETERMINING AMERICAN TASTE, FROM 1880 TO 1900

"Impressionism, like most new things, great or small
is at present more discussed than understood."¹

What did the American art critics of the eighties and nineties think of impressionist painting? The present chapter answers this question. Here, for the first time, we have a chronological "backdrop of opinion" in which the events of the eighties and nineties, (the fairs, art exhibits etc.), and against which the persons of the times, (collectors, museum directors, artists and art agents), should be viewed. This essay does not pretend to forge an undeniable causal link between this "climate of critical opinion" of the nineties and the collections of the same period. Nor do we necessarily imply that such opinion was the major motivating factor of art collectors in choosing to buy the art they did. The "backdrop of opinion" of impressionism from both Eastern and Mid-western art journals is intended only as a historical presentation of a past reality, to further understanding of a time rapidly becoming an important period in American cultural history. Furtherance of such historical understanding is justification enough for such an essay.

Within our backdrop of opinion, local and national fairs, and expositions stand out as landmarks attracting the interest and concern of everyone and everything in the art world. Such events were and still are, unique, in that they

bridge the world of the formal art show and the everyday technological interests of a democratic society. It is only fitting, then, that before launching into our descriptive commentary of the criticism of the times, we try to estimate and evaluate the great fairs and expositions.

In 1896, Clarence Cook took it upon himself to survey the interest of Americans in art for the last twenty to thirty years. Regarding the importance of the two great fairs he wrote: The Philadelphia Centennial exposition in 1876 awakened all Americans to the "immensity and variety of the world of modern art." Going further, he expressed the importance of the fairs for the development of the taste of the times. "The great exhibitions of Philadelphia and Chicago played an important part in preparing the public for the artists of today. Chicago carried still further what Philadelphia so prosperously began."² More recently, Russell Lynes has assessed both of these events and their influence in the history of the development of taste in America. During the fifteen years that followed the civil war, "three head-on assaults were made upon public taste--in interior decoration, in architecture, and in the appreciation of art."³ Of these three assaults, we are interested mainly in the third, the appreciation of art. Of this event Lynes says: "The Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia not only exposed millions of men and women to the greatest (in size) art exhibition ever seen on this or any other continent, but tried to effect the sacred marriage of industry and the household arts."⁴

Actually, the Centennial was the largest exposition that had ever been held anywhere in the world, six times more costly than the Crystal Palace in London in 1851, bigger than the Paris Exposition of 1867, bigger even than the Vienna Exhibition of 1874, which boasted fifty acres of buildings and which cost nearly

ten million dollars to construct.⁵ The Philadelphia Centennial stretched over 236 acres of "splendidly landscaped grounds," on which were dotted the seven enormous buildings, annexes and exhibition halls all of which overlooked the Schuylkill River. No less a personage than Richard Wagner had written a Grand March for the opening, May 10, 1876, and John Greenleaf Whittier read a hymn he had composed to celebrate the nation's one hundredth birthday. As far as artistic exhibitions go, it must have been a success: "Americans drank deep of the heady wine of art, and the hangover lasted for at least a quarter of a century, or longer than anyone cares to remember."⁶

The art gallery or Memorial Hall was a real eye-catcher. It was a permanent structure of granite and brick and iron that rose one hundred and fifty feet in the air and was topped by a large ball on which stood a heroic figure of Columbia. What was inside was called "industrial art," and Appleton's Journal raved over its universality. Never before in the United States "have there been gathered together in one place so many works of art representing so great a variety of nations."⁷ There seem to have been few if any Barbizon painters represented. And although the American painters represented were in general the best of our traditional painting, (Stuart, Copley, West, Johnson, etc.), works by Ryder and Eakins were not represented at all, Eakins' famous painting, The Gross Clinic being hung with the medical exhibits.⁸ We are strongly tempted to say that apart from the "industrial art,"--furniture, well-designed machinery, tools etc.--what was displayed had little or no effect on the taste of Americans. W.W. Ellsworth, one of the publishers of Scribner's Monthly, in his recollections of this period, waxes enthusiastic about the impact of the Centennial Exposition. "The Centennial Exposition of 1876 was another quickener of the national life...

a great awakener of the art sense of the nation; it implanted an appreciation of art which was new to the American people. Hundreds of thousands of those who had never seen a good picture in their lives saw them there. The magazines of the time benefitted by this, and after 1876 they could print a higher quality of illustration and have it appreciated. New artists, too, were born of that great exhibition."⁹ Kouwenhoven mentions some of the artists for whom the Centennial was something of an inspiration. E.A. Abbey acknowledged his debt to the foreign contemporary paintings he saw there especially in the English section. Others were impressed by the work of the Paris and Munich schools. In the Fall after the Centennial, Dwight William Tryon sold all his pictures and sketches, and with the money obtained, set out for Paris to study under a pupil of Ingres. William Merritt Chase, a onetime Hoosier painter living in New York, along with Frank Duveneck of Cincinnati had studied in Munich in the early seventies. Inness and Hunt had long shown the influence of French painting.¹⁰ All in all, it would be quite difficult to try to determine or establish the precise control this exhibit exercised over anyone's taste, be he artist, collector or just plain interested observer.

Nearly twenty years later in 1893, the "White City" of the Chicago World's Fair made millions of Americans gasp with astonishment at the water-reflected splendor of the Beaux Arts in Chicago.¹¹ And this, too, despite the fact that the country was in the middle of one of its greatest depressions, in a depression-filled half-century. The Chicago Fair represented a definite advance in collecting taste in America. After a visit to the Fair, the sophisticated French critic, Jacques Hermant, was forced to admit that though the American people labor under "profound ignorance" in questions of art, the collections at the Fair,

especially the Loan collection, were superb.¹² It is then somewhat important for our purpose to realize that of all the artistic exhibits at the Fair, the Loan collection was easily recognized the popular "winner" of the attention of all who went to the Palace of Fine Arts.¹³

The Chicago World's Fair was important in the development of taste in the American Midwest, not only for what it exhibited but more for the seeds of culture and taste it had sown. "Suddenly there burgeoned in various parts of the country, and in the Middle West most of all, 'study groups' and 'art clubs' and 'literary circles' and 'cultural societies' enough to gladden the hearts of the most ardent artistic missionaries and the most devoted handmaidens of the muses."¹⁴ As we shall soon see, Chicago took a back seat to no other city when it came to such organization for cultural purposes. We will not begin immediately with description of the origin and genesis of the various cultural groups in Chicago of the nineties. Rather, let us trace the attitude of the literary and art journals from the middle eighties to the turn of the century, regarding Chicago and the Midwest as a world-center of art collecting and exhibiting.¹⁵ After this we shall take up the Chicago art associations of the times.

As early as 1886 it was evident to at least one critic that Chicago was determined to achieve something in the incipient "Western art movement." According to Ripley Hitchcock in The Chautauquan, this determination was founded on the dynamic upsurge in industry, commerce and culture that followed upon the devastating Chicago fire of 1871. The men who were then fostering the material progress of the city would soon give way to a new generation, a generation that "will have money and time for something else. The change is coming; indeed it is already felt. In Chicago we act quickly. The art in the air will materialize

into gifts and endowments, and all at once Chicago will be the art center, as she is now the business center of the West."¹⁶ Montague Marks, two years after this observation, also thought he saw definite signs of growing Western interest in art: "It is curious to note the diverse workings of what newspapers call 'the art movement' in different parts of the country. While in such western communities as those of Chicago and Milwaukee--where, if one is to believe eastern critics, no art knowledge or art interest is to be looked for--the greatest activity prevails and the people are hungry for art information and instruction...."¹⁷

In 1890, Alfred Trumble, the editor of The Collector ventured to put his opinion on the Midwest in writing, at least as regards the field of collecting. "We have been frequently assured of late, that the glory of New York as a patron of the great art of Europe, to which the picture traders have been at such pains to introduce us, has passed to the West, and that it is not now the Gothamite, but the plutocrat of the Lake region and the Mississippi valley who absorbs the capital prizes of the local picture lottery into his galleries. Painful as it is to be convinced of the sordid retrogression of our own citizens from the van of American connoisseurship, it must be admitted that instances to that point are not rarely forthcoming in these days of our degeneration from our ancient standard of esthetical liberality." Trumble held up to Easterners as an example, a Western gentleman "of exalted financial distinction" who enjoyed the leading honor of the most recent occurrences to our discredit.¹⁸ A later issue of The Collector informs us that this "western gentleman" was none other than the unscrupulous Chicago railway magnate, Charles T. Yerkes.¹⁹ What Trumble was concerned about here was the manner in which the "suave picture dealers can out-fox

such people and apparently have in New York. But still in the West collections grow."²⁰

During the last few months of 1890, Trumble had been watching for more signs of growth in the collections of the Midwest. And as we saw in an earlier chapter, by November of 1890 the editor of The Collector felt compelled to remark on Chicago's Mr. Potter Palmer and his collecting ability. In the same issue referred to above he praised the universality of the collection: "Native and foreign art combine in his gallery, and it is distinguished by high quality and a discriminating selectiveness that are more desirable than usual in extensive collections."²¹ In February of 1891, he informed his readers that a certain James McMillan of Detroit collected "valuable examples of the Modern French School," but he did not elaborate on just who some of the artists collected were.²² In March of the same year, Dr. Theodore Flood, one of the founders of the Chautauque movement, expressed concern about our American art education and gave his readers his opinion on American art collecting. Since he saw so many studying and so few buying art, he concluded that "we are not yet an art-loving people. We purchase from one to three million dollars worth of foreign art works every year. We do not buy one per cent of the pictures our native artists are able to produce."²³ By "foreign" art works, Flood most probably meant the enthusiastic buying of the Barbizon school by Americans. Or so at least was the complaint of one of The Chautauquan's art critics in June of 1891. "Commercial value" and "names" are what people buy, insisted this critic. Witness the flurry to get even poor, early works of the Barbizon school at the same high prices as the best.²⁴

Despite the fact that some could criticize Americans for not buying native

art, there could be no doubt that the modern art of France was being bought, and in the Midwest. The revered "sage" of the impressionists, Camille Pissarro, was at first rather skeptical about an American market for his art. Just shortly before the World's Fair closed in Chicago in October of 1893, Camille Pissarro discussed in a letter to his son what he thought of this city as a potential market for his painting. In 1892-93, a Parisian art dealer by the name of Vever, who like Paul Durand-Ruel²⁵ had made a fortune in the works of the school of 1830, had gone to Chicago for the Fair, planning to cash in on what enthusiasm the exhibits of French art would inspire in the hearts of the Midwestern collectors. Pissarro continues the story: "It seems that the Chicago exhibition, at which he [Vever], had to participate, was a colossal flop. It is to be feared that this may cool his ardor. This Chicago folly is a great pity. Who the devil wants to have any truck with pork-butchers?"²⁶

Pork-butchers or not, even the idealistic Pissarro was most willing to sell to Americans, and Chicagoans as well. Exactly a year later he seemed to think he had more cause to be hopeful, and wrote to Lucien: "'I am waiting for some miraculous chance. For the moment my hopes are limited to Miss Cassatt's recommendations to Miss Holloway²⁷ whom I knew and who I am sure loves my work, but has not yet gotten anything of mine sold. However, she has done much for other impressionist painters. I should also like to make the acquaintance of Mr. Chase,²⁸ the well-known collector from New York, etc. etc..... Miss Cassatt tells me I have had much success in Chicago and that everything I do ought to sell. Now this is past understanding!"²⁹ In Paris in 1896, Pissarro chanced to meet the painter Raffaelli, better known in the nineties as an impressionist than Pissarro himself.³⁰ The previous year Raffaelli had made a triumphal tour

of a few major American cities--New York and Chicago among them--had lectured and stirred up a great deal of enthusiasm for his art and impressionism. Naturally, when the two artists met, they talked about Raffaelli's tour. Confiding to his son in another letter Pissarro wrote: "'Met Raffaelli yesterday, and he told me with great enthusiasm about his trip to America.³¹ An immense people, grandiose, full of the future! he said; about Monet's success he had this to say: Monet alone is recognized in America, enthusiasm for him has reached such a point that Raffaelli actually heard a lady say: 'Monet is so great that all the other painters ought to paint Monets.'³²

As a result of the great interest in art brought on by the Chicago World's Fair of 1893, a group of literary and artistically inclined men and women began what in some ways was the most important and influential art educational organization in the Midwest, The Central Art Association.³³ According to Lynes, this organization found its inspiration in the Chautauque movement method of purveying culture to the people. The Central Art Association had for its purpose, "'...the promotion of art among the people."³⁴ Harriet Monroe, writing in The Critic for December, 1894, gives us most of our information on the genesis of this group. Just before the new year of 1895 opened, the new organization put on its first Chicago show in Vice-President Lorado Taft's studio.³⁵ Though Mrs. T. Vernetta Morse was the society's first secretary and founder,³⁶ the guiding spirits were Lorado Taft and its first President, Hamlin Garland. As we shall see, Garland was the Midwest's major critic of traditional art and foremost backer of the impressionist cause in the nineties.³⁷

Four years after its inception, the Central Art Association had three thousand paying members. Painting and sculpture were not the only arts discussed in

the lectures. Architecture, ceramics, history, house decoration, industrial art, illustrating and engraving, municipal and public school improvement, and assorted traveling exhibitions is but a partial list of lecture topics.³⁸ Even art congresses were held annually. Harriet Monroe specified the goal of the association: "The Central Art Association...is attempting to satisfy what the journalists would call a long-felt want: it is trying to bring the artists and the public nearer together--to make art more accessible and familiar to the scattered population of the great West."³⁹ Writing in The Critic she emphasized the fact that "the society gives lectures on modern art and exhibitions of American work, not only in the large cities but in the smaller towns of the western states." Thus a circuit of towns was established, and a guarantee sufficient to meet the expenses of transportation and exhibition was demanded from each town. Harriet Monroe concluded her account with this short comment on Garland's cryptic aesthetic: "To him, Impressionism is the only kind of art there is and he does not hesitate to denounce all other schools...."⁴⁰ Surprisingly enough, the liberal-minded Montague Marks of the Art Amateur was quite well aware of the good work of Chicago's Central Art Association. In 1896 he praised it as an organization of artists, teachers and sympathizers, doing missionary work among the small towns of the "centre west." The pictures they sent around for exhibits are well chosen works of western artists, along with paintings by men of wider reputation, "like Benson, Tarbell, and the late Theodore Robinson."⁴¹

Two final opinions of the art interest in the Midwest climax our treatment of the Midwestern cultural Renaissance. In the last year of the century, still another critic writing in the New York Art Interchange for March 1899, saw even the railroads at the service of art. "Art seems triumphant in the West, where

several railroads actually have given their patrons special rates from towns surrounding Chicago, so people might attend the exhibitions of M. Boutet de Monvel and M. James Tissot. This is unusual anywhere, but extraordinary here.⁴²

Yes, things were flourishing in the Midwest. And as if to bear out Russell Lynes' statement that Women's clubs and art clubs of all sorts were then springing up all over, the newly founded Chicago Art Association, (1897), in its Brush and Pencil, had several articles on the rebirth of art interest in the city. Charles Francis Browne, in the March issue of 1898, wrote of "A Chicago Renaissance,"⁴³ and Ida M. Condit in the April issue of the same journal for 1899 wrote of "Art Conditions in Chicago and Other Western Cities." This last article tells us that art conditions in Chicago are different from those in the Eastern states. Says Ida Condit: "For years, the East has had its art schools and art exhibitions; Cincinnati and St. Louis also have had the advantage of years of art study, while art in Chicago is scarcely a decade old."⁴⁴ Assuming that the World's Fair was the scene of the birth of art interest in the Midwest, Ida Condit elaborated the role of the Women's clubs in fostering the interest in art in Chicago, especially the Archa Club. This she follows with a lengthy statement of the purpose of the newly-founded Chicago Art Association.⁴⁵ In May of the same year, (1899), A.B. Pond wrote in Brush and Pencil of "The Relation of Art to Public Welfare."⁴⁶ By this time, art interest in Chicago had run full course. Chicagoans were, indeed, prepared to buy modern art and impressionism. Let us investigate now what the art journals of the nineties told Chicagoans (and other Americans as well) impressionism was and what they ought to think of it.

Prior to enveloping ourselves in the welter of aesthetic and critical evaluations of the major impressionists by the American art critics of the period,

two practical questions must be answered: Who were the "major" impressionists, and why will this treatment be confined to material found in the art journals of the nineties alone and not also material from art books of the period? By "major" impressionists we intend here all the painters who exhibited their works in the first impressionist show in 1874.⁴⁷ In other words, why have we confined ourselves to the material found in the art journals, to understand and find out what the art critics of the times thought of impressionism? Simply because only in the journals did we, ourselves, find anything like an answer to what the nineties thought of impressionism. It is true that there are a number of books available today written in the eighties and nineties covering the subject of "modern art" and impressionism, but by and large there is little of value in the way of critical thought on the impressionist movement. Especially is this true when we consider the great amount of high quality critical material to be found in the various art journals. Briefly, the best argument for the use of the art journals, we feel, is the presentation of the material itself from these very sources. Let us then begin with a chronological description of the genesis and evolution of American critical thought on impressionism.

Late in the year 1882, The Critic carried a few authoritative statements on impressionism. Oddly enough, the remarks are made a propos of the then very famous American expatriate portraitist, John Singer Sargent.⁴⁸ Our anonymous critic writes: "If Mr. Sargent has joined the ranks of the French impressionists it is their gain and his loss. That band of artistic ne'er-do-wells, whose existence has been but an ineffectual protest against a stupidity stronger in its way than their insight, has found a leader of some prowess in the painter of El Jaleo [Sargent]...."⁴⁹ The remainder of the article repeats the same thought. It is not until three years later in 1885 that we run across a more critical

opinion of the impressionist movement. Roger Riordan, a sincere and well-intentioned critic, whose own opinion of impressionism fluctuated and finally came around in favor of the movement summarizes for the readers of The Art Amateur, the "wise" words of the French academician painter Boulanger on the impressionists.⁵⁰ Riordan believes Boulanger's article to be the first open attack on those artists "who have abandoned the officially recognized sources of inspiration in order to follow up certain novel ideas of their own." And then, as if it were a capital artistic sin, Riordan taxes these "realists, naturalists, impressionists, open-air-ists," for "the temerity to have new ideas," and a desire to put them into practice. Riordan concedes they have produced a few remarkable pictures but then adds that M. Boulanger insists they have been accorded more praise than is their due. Riordan's remarks are typical. First of all, there seems to be a basic insecurity which will not allow many American critics to put themselves down as "for" or "against" impressionism. So they quite naturally looked to France for guidance. Nevertheless, Riordan's basic underlying impartiality remained intact before the academician's criticism.

During the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the direct influence of impressionism on American critics, collectors, Museums and artists was felt most strongly from 1886 to 1887. In the course of these two years, the great Durand-Ruel sponsored impressionist shows were held in New York city through the courtesy of the American Art Association. The offer to show the impressionist works in New York had come in the Fall of 1885 and Durand-Ruel "seized the opportunity with a determination steeled by despair."⁵¹ New York critics looked forward eagerly to the show. Writing for the April issue of Art Amateur, the European-roving critic, Theodore Child, set the tone of expectation in his article on Edouard Manet, "The King of the 'Impressionists.'" Child informed his

readers that he intended his article to be sort of an introduction to the "forthcoming New York exhibition of the French 'Impressionists.'" ⁵² Both with regard to talent and to leadership, Manet is the man of the moment, thinks Child. Nor does this painter "need to be avenged for posterity," as his acceptance in the Salons has argued well enough for him and "impressionism."

At this point, Child does something that makes the present-day historian despair at trying to find out just who thought what about the impressionists. He proceeds to classify Manet with the leaders of what he knew then to be the realist school--Courbet, Vollon, Raybet, Carolus-Duran, Bonnat, Bastien-Lepage, and Casin. ⁵³ But ah! Manet is a different type of realist. He emphasizes atmosphere, surroundings, and the role of the figure in the ensemble rather than its individual value. Child also highlighted Manet's new visual approach to his subject: "And so sitting down before his model, Manet saw it not in outline and in detail, but in masses of different tints of a bright tone of color. The color is applied in patches; the distances are indicated by exactness of the tones," ⁵⁴ Summing up he writes: "Manet and the 'Impressionists,' MM. Claude Manet [sic], Degas, Renoir, Pissaro [sic], Miss Cassatt, Mlle. Morisot have gone a step further than their predecessors; they have abandoned the prepared light of the studio, and painted nature bathed in real sunlight...they have come to study light in its causes and effects, and they have struggled valiantly with difficulties of execution of painting nature with its diffused light and its continual variations of coloration." In short, they have tackled a harder job, and have come off better than their contemporaries. ⁵⁵

New York's weekly art journal, The Critic, was at something of a better advantage to criticize the New York impressionist show when it opened. As early

as March, word of the exhibit had reached the critic, and notice was given to the New York public that "nearly three-hundred works by the French Impressionists have reached this city, and will be put on exhibition at the American Art Galleries about April 6."⁵⁶ Greet the impressionist show, the editors of The Critic did, with the characteristic ambivalence so typical of the early criticism of Impressionism.⁵⁷ "Every visitor to the exhibition to the American Art Galleries during the past week has brought away with him, an impression of strange and unholy splendor, or depraved materialism according to the depth of his knowledge and experience."⁵⁸ There is great knowledge in the paintings, too, the editors insist. Tones or values are eliminated but with vigorous understanding. So impressed were the authors of this article, that they were forced to admit that this show was a veritable "school of painting" transported from one country to another. In such wonderful paintings, continued the critics, "A thousand fugitive moods have been caught and perpetuated by the brush." Manet and Degas are mentioned, and Monet, Boudin, Sisley, and Pissarro are all praised for their contribution to landscape painting. But Seurat's Bathers is called a "large and uncouth composition," which reveals with all the rest, "the uncompromising strength of the impressionist school.... New York has never seen a more interesting exhibition than this." Towards the end of May, the same show opened in the National Academy of Design. Here, The Critic took the occasion to single out two paintings by Mary Cassatt, "one, a half-length of a middle-aged lady in white, reading; the other shows the same figure with three children. They rank with all but the best of the French works in the exhibition."⁵⁹

Writing in the May issue of The Art Amateur, an anonymous critic also assessed the unusual show that had opened April 9th at the American Art gallery.⁶⁰ Strangely enough, John Lewis Brown and Gustave Caillebotte were chosen for

comment before the other impressionists.⁶¹ The writer of this essay tells us why. It seems he liked Brown: "These paintings, [those of Brown], are less carefully finished than those by which he is best known...but he secures greater distance, better atmospheric effect, and truer, though less harmonious color." Caillebotte is chosen as the best of the "younger" members of the group. As for Monet, he fares poorly: "The harsh juxtaposition of unrelated tones in which M. Claude Monet seems to delight, and his skill in painting so as to compel the spectator to stand at the distance of about ten times the length of the picture, if he would see what it was intended to be like, will no doubt, provoke much discussion." In all these peculiarities, we are assured that Monet is no more than a "humble follower" of the great Turner.

Pissarro and Degas receive the same tongue-in-cheek evaluation. "The two narrow rooms next to the main gallery contain a number of brilliant pastels and oil paintings, made to look as much like pastels as possible by Pissarro, Degas, and others of the school."⁶² Renoir is praised for nearly the same reason he was bought in France and thought well of there. "This remarkable painter, whose studies of the nude may be praised without hesitation and without stint, spoils several of his pictures by tawdry backgrounds and accessories." Seurat's Bathers was handed a dash of scorn mixed with neutral comments. Although Seurat's painting was hard to see close up, it nevertheless, "has some of the qualities of an early Italian fresco, and if placed at the top of Trinity Steeple and viewed from Wall Street Ferry it might look very well."

Paul Durand-Ruel was very busy during the year 1886.⁶⁴ The April American Art Association was hardly out of the mind of the people, when back into the art exhibition area stepped Durand-Ruel. The Critic noted briefly in their October

30th issue of the same year, "Durand-Ruel is reported on his way to America with about three-hundred French pictures of different schools which will be exhibited at the American Art Association Gallery."⁶⁵ How many of these paintings were those of the major impressionists (or followers), we do not know. Nevertheless, around the end of October an exhibition of pictures was held at the Union League Club in connection with the reception given on October the 27th in honor of the French delegates to the inauguration ceremonies of the statue of Liberty. We are informed that a fine collection of French works were shown. Millet, Bouguereau, Stevens and "some of the impressionist landscapes seen here last winter" were in the show.⁶⁶ Yes, impressionism was making itself felt in New York.

Spring of 1887 found another impressionist art show on the New York horizon. The first show that year was not at the American Art Association Galleries but at the private Moore's Art Gallery. The Critic's notice is of interest because this journal noted Durand-Ruel's desire to sell the paintings. "M. Durand-Ruel of Paris, will place on exhibition at Moore's gallery on Monday, prior to their sale on the 5th or 6th, a number of interesting and important works by painters of the French impressionist school and others."⁶⁷ The writer explained that it was necessary for Thomas J. Kirby, James F. Sutton and the painter Theodore Robinson to form a corporation so as to bypass the United States tariff laws, which made such importing of paintings prohibitive.⁶⁸ The important impressionist show of 1887, however, was the one held under the auspices and at the gallery of The American Art Association in May lasting until June. This time, three of the New York art journals covered the show: The Critic,⁶⁹ Montague Marks' Art Amateur, and The Art Interchange.

Editor Marks of the Art Amateur or "Montezuma," (as he anonymously called

himself for some time), decided to review the second impressionist show at the American Art Association Galleries himself. In the course of the review, Marks referred to the impressionists as "French artists but little known here...." Several of Monet's paintings he thought "daring," namely, The Valley of Nervia and a "polychromatic" Cliffs Near Dieppe. Pissarro, Sisley, and others of the impressionists were "interesting."⁷⁰ Mrs. Josephine Redding, editor of The Art Interchange saw "M. Durand-Ruel's impressionists," when she travelled to the Gallery of the American Academy of Design. Again Monet was looked upon as the leader of the whole group, and "two or three or four" of his works were the "best." "In these, there is a strong suggestion of air and light despite the disagreeable technical method."⁷¹ In July, the Art Amateur reported on the impressionist exhibit in the National Academy of Design. By this time there was some dissatisfaction with this show when compared with the one in 1886. "The impressionists are not so well represented as in the collection brought here last year by M. Durand-Ruel. There were several very bold and successful landscapes by Monet; Manet's effective daub of The Death of Maximilian, which it may be remembered was in this city several years ago."⁷² This reviewer concludes that the paintings by Camille Pissarro "look like Roman mosaics rather than oil paintings."⁷³

In this same July issue of the Art Amateur, the journal's cosmopolitan art critic, Theodore Child, returned with more of his then neutral criticism in a review of the Exposition Internationale held annually in the Georges Petit Gallery in Paris. Most of Child's review is spent praising the works of men like Albert Besnard, Jean-Charles Cazin, Raffaelli, Kroyer, Liebermann.⁷⁴ Whistler is mentioned as sort of an afterthought.⁷⁵ Late in the same year, the impressionists, through the agency of Whistler, were attempting to make an entrance into the British art world. Mrs. Redding of The Art Interchange put it this way:

"The respectable British public is endeavoring to educate itself up to the level of the French 'impressionists,' but so far without much success. One of the prominent features of the exhibition of Mr. Whistler's 'Royal Society of British Artists' now open in London, is a number of landscapes by Claude Monet, which are mildly described as 'a revolt against the conventional.'"⁷⁶ The British did not at first enjoy impressionism. As we will see, neither did Mrs. Redding. Nor was the taste of another woman journalist, "Greta,"⁷⁷ who edited a "Boston Letter" for the Art Amateur much more advanced. In October of the same year, the second impressionist show made its impact on New York and Greta would, by means of her column, take us inside Monet's Giverny retreat in France. "Quite an American colony has gathered, I am told, at Giverny, seventy miles from Paris on the Seine, the home of Claude Monet, including our Louis Ritter, W.L. Metcalf, Theodore Wendell, John Breck"⁷⁸ and Theodore Robinson of New York. A few pictures just received from these men show that they have got the blue-green color of Monet's impressionism and 'got it bad.'"⁷⁹

Yes, by 1888-1889, the new breed of American artist had really "got impressionism bad." Artists and private collectors alike were well aware of the way the winds were blowing. In terms of auctions, the trend seemed almost obvious. So obvious, that Montague Marks had to assure his readers that the Grand auction of Barbizon paintings belonging to Albert Spencer of New York, in the Spring of 1888, did not mean that his tastes had changed. "Why Mr. Spencer sold his pictures remains unexplained. It is not true that he has become a devotee of the 'impressionist' cult. Mr. Spencer had a few examples of Monet and Pissarro before the sale and he has them yet. That is all."⁸⁰ Yes, "that was all" but not for long. Albert Spencer was soon one of the most avid collectors of impressionism, and as we shall see a few of them added luster to Sara Hallowell's Loan

collection. Something of a last gasp on the part of the Art Amateur was the Paris correspondent Theodore Child's defense of traditional art in the face of a rapidly growing American interest in impressionism. Why even the Paris Centennial Exposition of 1889 was coming to grief! The schemer behind the scenes was none other than the French Commissioner of Fine Arts, Antonin Proust. "The organizer of the show, [The Paris Centennial], notably the chief commissioner, M. Antonin Proust, has allowed his personal tastes to interfere, and Manet, Monet, and Roll⁸¹ occupy places of honor which they fill with grotesque insufficiency." Manet was entitled to a place of honor, thought Child, but Monet and Roll, mere beginners "who have not found their way,"--definitely no! "And to hide Bastien-Lepage,⁸² Regnault, Cabanel, and De Neuville behind a screen while Pavis de Chavannes⁸³ is only represented by a small picture of the decapitation of St. John...is absurd."⁸⁴

Eighteen hundred eighty-nine, then, was the turning point in American art criticism of impressionism. If the ambivalence of the critic when faced with the new impressionist aesthetic did not disappear, it at least began to diminish. A Paris show of the works of Auguste Rodin and Claude Monet at the Georges Petit Gallery in the summer of 1889 was the occasion for a new direction in criticism. A young American painter stationed himself before a painting of Monet when it was first hung, "and loudly proclaimed his opinion that it was the best work of art in the whole show." Concedes The Art Interchange, Monet is "one of the best."⁸⁵ With September came Theodore Child's reports on the same Rodin-Monet show from Paris. This particular Parisian show at the Petit Gallery was an argument for the combined work of an artist being able to convince critics and public alike of the artist's worth. At any rate, Child was caught up into the total spirit of the one-hundred and forty-five oil paintings representing twenty-five years

of Monet's artistic achievement. In the earlier pictures he finds the influence of Courbet, Manet and Pissarro from whom the artist eventually freed himself. This man, he remarks, is "gifted with an eye that analyzes and decomposes colors that appear simple to ordinary mortals.... His joy is a light--in sunlight and its play upon landscape and water, in the delicate colorations of the dazzling pulverulence of light in the analysis of atmosphere." Even Monet's vision of nature astounds Child: "...it is novel; it is full of the curious observation of color; it has revealed to us many phenomena which we had never before seen until he taught us how to see them."⁸⁶ And yet we cannot say he has no delicacy in his pictures: "...these pictures may have a delicacy of a new kind for the appreciation of which our eyes are not yet sufficiently attuned." Summing up, Child states that the sincerity of the artist, the novelty of his vision, and the interest of his studies of light are all real and present. Child concludes with a most interesting confession of his own difficulty when faced with such startling art. "On the other hand, I may be allowed to be sincere on my part, and to confess that my appreciation of Monet's work is not yet so lively as even to approach admiration, much less to proclaim him the great landscapist, the prodigious artist which his admirers make him out to be."⁸⁷

As is fairly obvious, Theodore Child's appreciative essay on Monet would not have found too many sympathetic readers even in Paris of the 1880's. As is well known, a literary-artistic battle royal had been waged for some time in France over the merits of the impressionists. An anonymous journalist for the New York Collector thought this battle was about to be taken up on our own soil now with the great demand for impressionist art underway. "The fact that they, [the impressionists], are imported, under our tariff, proves that there must be

a commercial reason for importing them which did not exist when M. Durand-Ruel made his exhibition at the American Art Galleries some years ago." ⁸⁸ Here, again, Manet is picked as the leader of the impressionist group who paints "in a vein of Zolaesque Naturalism." But Monet is the greatest of them all--at least to this critic--"a true landscape poet, who, if he sometimes stumbles in his rhyme, never fails in his harmonies or lags in spirit." The very water scene that Monet paints evokes in the critic the freshness of the sea breeze coming from the canvas itself. Another rhapsody follows: "He paints no pictures as pictures go, by rule, but among his canvases are some inexpressibly beautiful natural compositions--great gray cliffs, where the gulls scream, and vast meadows...." Sisley's painting, too, followed this lyric mood of Monet, but was of decidedly lighter "calibre." Pissarro unites in his canvases, luminosity, vibration and intensity, and is "closer to Monet in poetic feeling than Sisley," deserving to rank second only to Monet. These three men's pictures "grow in fascination, just as they ripen in color with time. The throb is in them of the eternal life of nature, that age and acquaintanceship render only the more seductive." At this peak of emotional and appreciative description we feel that Renoir himself could not have described his painting with more unction. Degas and Renoir are then briefly mentioned, and our critic concludes with another statement of how the impressionists look upon light and how New York has looked upon the impressionists. "They worship light as the Parsees worship the sun. To them it is the parent of all life and all art." Each in his own way found that small patches of color, skillfully opposed to each other, gave the best rendering of the quivering and luminous quality of light. Despite all these wonderful things to be enjoyed in the impressionist art, New York, too,

had its philistines. The impressionists "are commonly treated in New York at least, to the flippant ridicule of shallow ignorance or the beef-brained abuse of brutal materialism, into which the mockery of local art criticism is divided."

About 1890, it dawned upon one of the Eastern editors to give credit where credit was due on this business of impressionist shows. Alfred Trumble, the editor of The Collector, and by no means an enthusiast of impressionism, in an article on "Picture Sellers and Picture Buyers," does give credit to the right man -- Paul Durand-Ruel. Durand is described as "an enthusiastic elderly, French gentleman with the vitality of a young man and the knowledge of even more than his own mature years...."⁸⁹ Yes, this man, Trumble tells us, brought us to know Manet's Death of Maximilian, "with its desperate defiance of every tradition of painting," and works by Monet, Sisley, Pissarro, Renoir and Mlle. Breslau. Though Trumble's reaction to Monet is not too clear in the above article, he does express himself more fully when reviewing the special Claude Monet show arranged by Mr. W.H. Fuller of New York and held at the Union League Club.⁹⁰ The time was ripe thought Trumble to consider Monet. The Union League show provided the perfect opportunity for such a complete critical review of this painter, whose paintings were already the staple in the following persons' collections: Mr. Albert Spencer,⁹¹ Mr. Cyrus J. Lawrence, Mr. Erwin Davis, Mr. James E. Garland, Mr. James F. Sutton, Mr. A.W. Kingman, Mr. C. Lambert, Mr. W.L. Andrews, Mr. A.A. Pope (of Cleveland), Mr. John J. Johnson, (of Philadelphia), Mr. P.C. Brooks (of Boston) and others.

In the opening lines of his "complete critical review," Trumble feigned curiosity as to just what made Monet paint the way he did. Was it an "ocular affliction," or did he paint that way just to be different from everyone else?

Choosing the latter solution, Trumble went on: "In his [Monet's], later works he condemns himself with his own hand, and it is the good fortune of the public that they could, if only for a day or two, see in contrast what he can do when he chooses, and what he chooses to do for the sake of creating that notoriety of opposition and dispute that serves him as an advertisement." And although Monet's masses of green, purple and blue may convey to us a reminder of forest, mountain and sky, they do not give us the inflections of color, atmosphere, and light with which nature invests herself. There is no doubt that for Trumble, Monet lacks subtleties. Trumble wound up his criticism by saying that though Monet's backers say "time" will make him great, "the whole history of art, however, fails to show us that time ever put in a picture what the artist left out."

This is the same Monet exhibit at the Union League Club which drew the attention of The Critic only a week after Trumble's article appeared. The reviewer studied the paintings and commented: "The Monets which were shown in the theatre gained by the size of the room, and by the artificial light which supplied the yellow tones that they lack.... Few of them conveyed any more of the subject than might be seen between naps by a drowsy passenger rushing along in an express train...."⁹² Nor did that remark satisfy the reviewer. For him, Monet's extraordinary want of organization in his brushwork was disarming. Monet's subjective excitement should not be part of his painting, expressed by his use of impasto; however, our critic could bring himself to praise something. "He is best, therefore, in very wild and tormented scenery," as when "the waves tumbling in on the shore in The Breakers...give the impression of tumultuous motion far better than carefully studied forms would be apt to do." Montague Marks of The Art Amateur, had very little to say of the Union League show. He did, however, mention it in the March issue of his journal, explaining that some

of the best examples of Monet's paintings belonged to Mr. Albert Spencer. By now, too, Marks felt compelled to admit that "when Mr. Spencer sent his pictures to auction a few years ago, [1888], it was because they had ceased to please him, and his fastidious taste could be satisfied only by the new impressionist school."⁹³

The remainder of the year 1891 continued to be an important year for the impressionists at least as far as displays and exhibits on the East coast went. Trumble in early March noted for the benefit of his readers in The Collector, that there were a number of Mary Cassatt's etchings at the Woman's Club Art Exhibit.⁹⁴ Anonymous "Greta" from the Art Amateur took up her column in May and reported the growth of interest in impressionism and its advocates in the Boston area. J. Foxcroft Cole had imported a number of Monets for collectors of authority. A Mr. F.P. Vinton lectured on the new light in art, and Mr. Ernest Francisco Fenollosa⁹⁵ lectured on increasing Japanese influence in the use of simple, pure tints and unconventional composition.⁹⁶ Finally to round out this year of Monet shows, Boussod, Valadon & Co. had a few examples of Monet's paintings on display during November in their Fifth Avenue gallery.⁹⁷

The New York Monet shows of 1891 brought on new waves of criticism. Under the title "New York as An Art Center," the June Chautauquan offered the public an article sympathetic to their problems in understanding this modern art. Dubbing all the new painters "out-of-door painters," Charles Mason Fairbanks informed the journal's readers that the modern artist's main purpose was to fix the splendid light and color of the atmosphere on his canvas.⁹⁸ This goal is the goal, too, of the New York disciples of impressionism. "Monet is their Moses and their promised land is all that lies out in sunshine." Fairbanks then dares to nearly

define impressionism: "the progressive" painters' aim is "to paint nature as she appears to the eye trained to the perception of her subtler qualities of color and tone and atmospheric vibration and the light of heaven, and all this upon a foundation of strong and accurate drawing."⁹⁹ In passing, we might note here how Fairbanks tells his Chautauquan readers that impressionists have not forsaken line, and not only have not forsaken it, but actually rely on it, build on it. Perhaps this may give us another clue to help us explain just why a great many American collectors of impressionism would tend to collect the impressionists and followers who accented both rich, heavy impasto and line, (Raffaelli, Besnard, the American Carl Melchers and others).

Really, Fairbanks continues, impressionism is something of a revolt against the literal and photographic in art. Consequently, the public, he says, has a difficult time understanding this new art. They think, "that purple shadows of the afternoon sun that fall across the yellow field in the picture should have been gray.... The sunlit lawn should appear to be of the definite color of the familiar blade of grass, rather than as painted in the diluted golden green of bleached celery tops." If you wish to see what the impressionists were after, concludes Fairbanks, give nature the half-closed eyelid test, and then you will see what effect or result the impressionists are trying for.¹⁰⁰

In July of 1891, The Chautauquan reprinted a translation of an article by Theodore de Wyzewa on the French woman impressionist and sister-in-law of Manet, Berthe Morisot.¹⁰¹ Wyzewa, a "Frenchified" Polish man of letters, met regularly with the lights of modern French art, music and literature in the home of Berthe Morisot. This practically unknown critic was, along with Edouard Dujardin and Felix Feneon, one of the stoutest backers of impressionist and post-impressionist

alike.¹⁰² Among a number of things that Wyzewa noticed in Berthe Morisot's painting was the peculiarly feminine way she looked at her subject matter. "The excellence of her art...is due to the happy chance which gave her for a teacher Edouard Manet; and which thus from the beginning attached her to the impressionist school. The impressionist method is especially adapted to true feminine painting." This is so because the impressionist use of clear tones agrees with lightness, transparency, and the easy elegance of woman's painting. Wyzewa sums up Mme. Manet's [Berthe Morisot], importance in the school: "Among all the artists of the school of impressionists, Madame Morisot is the only one who in every particular has maintained its principles without any exaggeration."¹⁰³

There was a lull in journalistic criticism for the rest of the summer of 1891. However, in October, Alfred Trumble decided that impressionist painting needed another verbal beating. He had to admit that in the art world the promotion of the works of the modern French "naturalists and impressionists" was going on more vigorously than ever.¹⁰⁴ "Of the impressionists, so-called, (for in reality they are but charlatans appropriating an expressive and honorable term)¹⁰⁵ I have repeatedly expressed my opinion. Their own works give the lie to the title they assume...." They are profaners and mere observers, insists Trumble, and they see without thinking and they do not even see correctly. "My contempt for such a man as Monet is the greater, because I believe he really can see and feel nature honestly, and that he distorts her for sensational effect."

Trumble was not finished for the year when he penned this mild attack against impressionism, and Monet in particular. In mid-December, literary cudgel in hand, his five long columns of purple-patched rhetoric spilled over the pages of his journal entertaining his readers, if nothing else. "There can be nothing more painful to a genuine lover of art," he opened, "than the

prostitution of a talent. Such fierce daubs as these gentlemen of the realistic cult produce, make me melancholy as well as angry.... The poison the leader germinates infects the others." Trumble then reflects on how blessed we are not to have to live in an impressionist world, or in one of Monet's farmhouses, "the very look of which would make a tramp dog glue his tail between his legs...." With the dog thrown in for good measure as a norm, he goes on: "...to look at those dirty or slobbery skies, to live, in short, in a world without tenderness or feeling, a world which might be produced by machinery, like scenes upon a stage," one would have to be a fool. And so, the painters themselves must be either ignorant swindlers or "con-men." Monet takes the quiet village scenes and tears all the grace and beauty from them, and he "covers it with furious splotches, rips it into iron lines, and jigs it into saw edges, carves it with knives and mangles it with brush handles." This is the painting that our dealers tell us time will mend! Trumble must have licked his lips in satisfaction after those lines were written. And, indeed, we must admit that we have in Trumble's criticism at this point, nearly as wild a pile of denunciations of impressionism, (but not as vitriolic), as one could read in the French journals. The strange thing is that Trumble would one day come around from such a position and even find a number of good and positive things to praise in impressionism.

By the year 1892, then, impressionism was the universal concern of art critic, art buyer, and even the American artist, as we shall see. Alfred Trumble of The Collector was right out in front when the new year opened, insisting with his peculiar definition of impressionism, that we should look to Winslow Homer as an example of "true impressionism."¹⁰⁶ The protesting voice of Trumble was soon drowned in the impressionist shows starting the next month. In the middle of February, the Durand-Ruel gallery was tantalizing the buying public with a

display of Monet's Haystacks.¹⁰⁷ Then, early February saw the opening of a new Fine Arts building built by William H. Vanderbilt and finished that very year. The Loan exhibit at the opening dedication contained a number of Monet's paintings. A kind reviewer of the exhibit called Monet, "the Rembrandt of Landscape," and added, "there is no sky in the collection, not even any of the Corots, to be compared for depth and warmth with that of his Field of Poppies, no sunshine like that of his Antibes, no twilight like that of his Haystack."¹⁰⁸ Speaking of these same paintings in the Durand-Ruel gallery, Montague Marks also had a few kind remarks to make. The paintings on display were "some of the most characteristic and audacious work he [Monet], has produced. Speaking of Monet's Haystack, Marks thinks that one of them has the common fault of impressionist painting. "After a first feeling of surprise at the verity of the impression, there is nothing more to hold one's attention; the other, however, is a gorgeous bouquet of colors which Turner himself might be proud of."¹⁰⁹

With the Advent of Spring, Alfred Trumble was back on the scene, but only to draw his reader's attention to the new publication, The Dial,¹¹⁰ the two Englishmen, Charles Ricketts and Charles Shannon. This was not just one or two etchings but a portfolio of Lucien Pissarro's work to be published separately.¹¹¹ March also saw the Twenty-Fifth Annual Exhibit of the American Water-Color Society. Though French impressionism did not rear its head in this show, An American brand did, in the person of some of the works of Theodore Robinson and August Frenzen. Neither painter pleased the critics of The Art Interchange surveying the works displayed, but John LaFarge's "sunny, South Sea Idyll," did.¹¹²

Turning to a foreign source, Trumble found more fuel for his fire of criticism he was attempting to build under impressionist painting. German art critics had been saying pretty much the same things he had of impressionist painting.

The German press, too, had been giving the impressionists a real raking over. "Poor Monet received the hot shot of satirical criticism at a terrific rate. The Germans cannot swallow that offhand method of dismissing a subject which is the impressionists' strongest hold."¹¹³ Fortunately for the impressionist cause in America, The Atlantic Monthly for April, 1892, ran one of the most enlightened pieces of criticism on impressionism to appear in any journal throughout the eighties and nineties. This article by Cecilia Waern¹¹⁴ not only reached a wider audience through the Atlantic Monthly, but for the first time put impressionism in a historical perspective, going so far as to distinguish between the impressionists and the neo-impressionists.¹¹⁵ Waern betrays a firsthand knowledge of the painters themselves, as well as a thorough knowledge of the French critics friendly to impressionism. Perhaps she read Theodore Duret, Dujardin and others. This we do not know, although she does mention Felix Feneon.

Her opening thought clearly sums up the current attitudes toward impressionism: "Impressionism, like most new things, great or small, is at present more discussed than understood." Beyond this, the teachings of the school are only vaguely known and understood by the critics. Accordingly, the word impressionism is used just as vaguely. Impressionism, however, may relate to the way of seeing, the conception of the manner of painting or handling paint. The new impressionist way of seeing is important to understand, and "the less we instinctively like their vision and presentment of life, the more it behooves us to examine impartially the principles that have guided them."¹¹⁶ We must learn that impressionists work with one initial impression made upon the artist's eye, and through his eye on his mind. This is not a question of a series of collateral impressions fused into one.

As we might suspect, Waern's definition tends to be quite broad in concept and application. And such is the case when she takes up Cazin, Whistler, Raffaelli and Besnard as impressionists. Somewhat simplified for the present, Miss Waern's idea of the impressionist's eye was all summed up in the way the painter would focus everything, the way his eye would first catch the object to be painted. Thus, with one painter, the foreground would be in focus, tight and carefully drawn. And some painters have no focus.¹¹⁷ Passing from a brief study of the aesthetic of impressionism to the divisions of the group, she finds the impressionists clustered around two titles which represent their varying techniques: Synthetists and Luminists. The synthetists would correspond roughly to the group of impressionists, or as she puts it, men who busy themselves with the problems of form. Under the Luminists, are the pointillists and neo-impressionists--Van Gogh, Gauguin et al. Monet falls under the heading of Luminists, probably, because for Cecilia Waern, he was not at all concerned about form, i.e., linear form.

Be that as it may, Cecilia Waern's contribution is so important because of her recognition and acceptance of not only the early impressionists but of the later neo- or rather post-impressionist art. Really her article gives us one of the few firsthand testimonies we possess from an American of the post-impressionist art. She visited Van Gogh's dear color-grinding friend, Pere Tanguy, and left us a vivid description of the man and his shop: "Le Pere Tanguy is a short, thick-set, elderly man, with a grizzled beard and large beaming dark blue eyes. He had a curious way of first looking down at his pictures with all the fond love of a mother, and then looking up at you over his glasses, as if begging you to admire his beloved children...." This experience of seeing the wonderful

"clutter" of Van Goghs, and Cezannes in the Tanguy shop moved her deeply. She concluded: "I could not help feeling, apart from all opinions of my own, that a movement in art which can inspire such devotion must have a deeper final import than the mere ravings of a coterie."¹¹⁸

During the summer months of May, June and July of 1892, Alfred Trumble seems to have been the only one to have worried much about the impressionist cause. But even the doughty editor of The Collector had a few mild words for the impressionist group when reviewing the French book L'Art Impressioniste, by M.A.M. Lauzet, and hardly a word was said of a Boston show of Monet going on just then.¹¹⁹ The following month, however, he had a few words to say of the impressionist follower and friend of Degas, J.L. Forsin.¹²⁰ Then in the middle of July, in an article entitled "Dust of the Dog Days," Trumble spoke very highly of the sculptor, Auguste Rodin. There was talk of a Rodin exhibit on the art show horizon, and Trumble found it in himself to write a appreciative essay of "...the man who has given impressionism a place in sculpture."¹²¹

In the month of July, The Art Interchange ran an article purporting to give a short history and explanation of impressionism. The article itself leans heavily on material from Gustave Geffroy, (a good friend of Monet's),¹²² some notes from the English writer, P.G. Hamerton, and an American artist and writer living in Paris, Henry Bacon. Again, something of a definition is mustered: "Reduced to the simplest possible terms...they [The impressionists], are the first to paint nature as she really is, not as we think she is, and to render truly the effect of light and air."¹²³ In general, the article tends to try to find critics whose arguments can demolish the defense of the impressionists given by their friends, but the author goes about it in such a roundabout fashion,

that it is not until the end of the article that we see he has been building something of a case against the impressionists. To keep his readers in a good mood (i.e. those who might like impressionism), he ends his article with a quote from Theodore Duret's book on the impressionists.¹²⁴

By September, another article on Monet, (who seems to have had the center of the impressionist's stage as far as American criticism was concerned), this time by the first American impressionist, Theodore Robinson, appeared in The Century. Robinson, as did Cecilia Waern, brought his firsthand knowledge of Monet to the writing of the essay. Although he had not actually studied under Monet, he had lived for some time at Monet's home at Giverny and has left us some of his paintings of the environs. From the beginning of his article, Robinson's enthusiasm for Monet and the impressionist movement is clear. "The sum total of talent represented by MM. Manet, Degas, Monet, Pissarro, Caillebotte, Sisley, Renoir, Mlle. Berthe Morisot, and the American Miss Cassatt, not to mention others, is very considerable."¹²⁵ He thanks the new movement for its revolt against the chic and habileté of the schools, for its voice on the behalf of pure bright color and light. Many painters, continues Robinson, had seen the charm and value of a direct sketch, (pencil or otherwise), from nature; but it was left to Monet to put all of that charm and truth on a fair-sized canvas with the qualities and drawing unattainable in the small sketch. Monet's method allows him at times to work only an hour at a time on a canvas, and frequently, he will be carrying on at the same time, fifteen or twenty canvases. And yet, Monet is a realist, believing that nature has abundant and beautiful material for pictures. Let us face the facts, Robinson retorts. When nature is "rightly seen and rendered, there is as much charm in a nineteenth-century girl in her

tennis or yachting-suit, and in the landscape of sunlit meadows or river-bank, as in the Lefebvre nymph with her appropriate but rather dreary setting of classical landscape; that there is an abundance of poetry outside of swamps, twilights, or weeping damsels."¹²⁶ In this last statement, Robinson was anticipating by less than a year, the same opinion that inspired Hamlin Garland when he returned West to Chicago in 1893 to develop his apologetic essay on impressionism, which later developed into his thought on impressionism in Crumbling Idols. In this latter book he would write: "As I write this, I have just come in from a bee-hunt over Wisconsin hills, amid splendors which would make Monet seem low-keyed."¹²⁷ As we shall see below, he would later add to his own aesthetic of impressionism in the introductions he wrote to various exhibition catalogues in 1895.

November and December of 1892 saw a few neutral and cursory remarks emanate from The Collector. Such a wide-awake editor of a magazine for collectors, Trumble must inform his readers of "the great baritone Faure," the French operatic singer, who had become quite a collector of French impressionist painting. Only Durand-Ruel surpassed him in the number of paintings he had.¹²⁸ If Alfred Trumble could remain silent for a while about his favorite whipping boy, impressionism, The Art Amateur could not. Montague Marks seems to have arranged for some kind of a literary discussion or debate on the merits of impressionism. For in the November issue of his journal, an anonymous contributor under the initials W.H.W., attacked the movement, while Roger Riordan, (signing himself, R.R.), undertook to defend the modern painting in the December issue.

Although our "mystery" critic in The Art Amateur loads his case against the impressionists, we note that when he did criticize the painters, he cited as his sources French art critics who had only harsh and flippant criticism for the

new movement in art.¹²⁹ Then turning to the art dealers, he attacks them as being responsible for the boorish taste of many collectors, "and it may be set down as an axiom, that of all incompetent judges, the art-dealer is the most incompetent." In his second attack on the impressionists, published in the December issue of the Art Amateur, the author made a noble attempt to be fair to them. After summarily explaining the supposed new impressionist way of using color, (mixing and placing the colors on the canvas itself), he remarks: "it seems to us we have seen all these maxims practiced by many artists before the word impressionism was thought of...."¹³⁰ The anonymous critic ends his review of impressionism by striking a new note in anti-impressionist criticism--a sort of conspiracy to force impressionism on the people is afoot. "As regards Messers. Monet, Pissarro, and Sisley, whose paintings have lately been, so to speak, forced down the throats of the amiable American public, anything more slovenly unmannered, and false we do not remember to have seen." Even a schoolboy would be ashamed to paint the way they do! he concluded.

In the same December issue Roger Riordan enters the verbal fray with his article, "From Another Point of View." Let us set our sights straight, begins Riordan, impressionism is a "healthy development in painting."¹³¹ Not only were Turner and William M. Hunt forerunners, but so also were such great painters as Delacroix, Goya, and Velasquez. Actually, the modern painters have a great "love of daylight." Secondly, the impressionists are more concerned with the suggestion of detail rather than with an elaboration of it. And thirdly, they achieve more brilliant and varied tones by assembling various pigments on the canvas, instead of blending them beforehand on the palette. And finally, there is no reason to think that if we accept the impressionists we must reject the

Academicians. "We are not called upon to reject the masters of Academic drawing of Degas or Renoir. To come nearer home, we can enjoy at the same time, the grace and refinement of Mr. Henry O. Walker's work and the sparkle and animation of Mr. Theodore Robinson's." Whether this satisfied the Art Amateur's impressionist enthusiasts is hard to say. It was, however, a clear enough statement of what the impressionists had achieved, a coherent response to the two previous anti-impressionist articles.

The year 1893 was a banner year for art exhibits, shows, and collecting in America. And as if to herald the surge of interest in modern art and impressionism, a new art journal, Modern Art began in the midwest with very little fanfare, but with a good bit of class. The lead article was entitled "Modern Dutch Artists" and explained the works of Israels, Mettling, Mauve, Bosboom, Neuhuys, James, William and Mathew Maris.¹³² These men were "modern" Dutch artists, but there was very little "modern" or truly original and creative in their art. In style they were mainly eclectic--a little of the Barbizon, a little of their own tradition. In content, their works were often anecdotal or sentimental and even tending more to Romantic themes. At the end of the second article on Theodore Ribot,¹³³ the author tacked on a paragraph about Degas, disclosing some knowledge of the artist and art criticism in France. "M. Degas is very little known to the public; he never exhibits in the annual Salons, and very rarely in any other exhibition. His aristocratic temperament and his strong respect for his art disincline him to expose to the general and unintelligent gaze works, to appreciate which demands a highly developed artistic education."¹³⁴ This issue also contained an article on William T. Walter's Baltimore art gallery, but by all odds the most interesting article is the fifth one by the Hoosier impressionist artist, T.C. Steele, called "Impressionalism."¹³⁵

Despite the strange name of Impressionalism that Steele gives to the movement, he seems to understand the purpose of these artists about as well as Garland or even Cecilia Waern. His introductory sentence makes that clear: "To the artists of the latter part of the nineteenth century has been reserved the rare distinction of the discovery of an absolutely new point of view."¹³⁶ The fact that this movement has been caricatured only proves its newness. Not only that, but we should accept these men as realists, except that the impressionists insist more strenuously than the realists upon the "reproduction by each artist of his personal impression of nature and this only." The personal, individual view is vital. Therefore, if his sky is blue, paint it as blue as he sees it, and if the impressionist makes the center of his vision distinct, and all the rest indistinct--fine!

But precisely how does the impressionist paint? "And again--if in realizing his impression upon the canvas, he finds, as he mixes to smooth tones the colors of his palette, that they are dull and lifeless compared to nature's living tones, he frankly puts the colors side by side upon the canvas, unmixed, depending on the requisite distance between the eye and the picture to blend them." Such must be the impressionist's procedure even though it breaks smooth conventions, prettiness and surface finish that mean so much to Academic painting and to the uneducated eye. Furthermore, the impressionists have studied light much more keenly than other painters before them. "Light gives vibration to color," movement and fleeting charm. "The world is debtor to these iconoclasts, though they have broken somewhat our idols and traditions, if they give us in accents strong and vital the elemental speech of nature...." Steele concedes that the movement seems to lack an ideal. When the ideal is discovered, then impressionism

really will be great. "Is not this the art of the future?" asks Steele.

Certainly T.C. Steele's analysis of impressionism describes his own procedure of painting landscapes and that of the impressionists quite well. It is curious that this evaluation comes from a Midwesterner, and a man whose artistic roots were deep in the soil and who lived the ideal Hamlin Garland proposed for American painters who would imitate impressionism. Interestingly enough, Steele did not mention any of the European impressionists by name. This fits with his whole approach to impressionism, or as he put it "impressionism." It is again an example of looking at or thinking of the impressionists as part of the whole "modern art" movement, much as the critics earlier approached the Barbizon group. The impressionist movement, for Steele, was lost in the modern art movement.

The same month that the new art journal Modern Art was bringing to a select few in the Midwest knowledge of the art world and impressionism, Alfred Trumble in New York was still grinding out his reactionary criticism of the movement. This time he was doing it through the person of General Rush C. Hawkins, who had been the American commissioner of Fine arts for the Paris Exposition of 1889. Hawkins' report on the exposition and the state of modern art was along the lines of conservative thinking that pleased Trumble. He denounced everything that could be called modern, even Millet, and especially the impressionists. But beyond this, the good commissioner let off a little steam against our "globe-trotters"—presumably the American expatriate artists in Europe.¹³⁷ Such people did nothing to further our art education in this country. Hawkins' recommendations for art education were that three great museums and art schools should be built in the three principle sections (where were these?) of the country "to be supported at government expense."¹³⁸ Alfred Trumble's comment on Hawkins was

that he would very much like to see this congressional report get wider circulation because it was, "decidedly and clearly indited in vigorous Saxon and besprent with sparkling gems of criticism and common sense."

The following issue of The Collector for January carried an article most favorable to impressionism! Although this time it was an impressionist painter, a man whom Trumble quite obviously thought was the very last word,--Jean-Francois Raffaelli.¹³⁹ We must say in favor of Trumble that he felt his tastes were more or less those of the common man as well as the collector. Thus in February of 1893, he was excitedly telling his readers that Boussod, Valadon & Company gallery now has on display "something for everybody."¹⁴⁰ One wall contained paintings by Dutch artists, (we suspect Mauve, Israels, Maris and the like), while the east wall "bears as striking a contrast to these finished productions as could well be found. It is completely covered with works of the current impressionist school." After mentioning these painters as Monet, Renoir, Raffaelli, Sisley, and Pissarro, he hastens to say that all the younger artists are going out after them. They think it is the style of the future. "But I am afraid they indulge in a vain hope. Monet who is a strong man, is gradually refining his style. Renoir soon may. Sisley will go back to his old methods. Raffaelli is a unique genius who may do what he pleases. Pissarro would, perhaps, be benefitted by a voyage back to Buenos Ayres, [sic]."¹⁴¹

Despite Trumble's jaundiced approach to impressionism, he had the collector's eye for the new and the novel exhibit, even if that exhibit happened to be an impressionist one. Consequently, he had heard, and he passed this information on to his readers in his second February issue, of an impressionist exhibit at the St. Louis Museum of Fine Arts. "Interesting" was the word Trumble used to describe

what was a "small collection of examples of the German, French, American and Impressionist schools of painting...."¹⁴² Likewise in the March issue of The Collector, we find a list of the H.M. Johnson sale in New York. From this auction we get something of an idea what impressionist paintings were selling for in comparison with other modern paintings. L.C. Delmonico bought Pissarro's Springtime for \$350.00 and Monet's Road by the Hillside was bought by Boussod Valadon & Company for \$550.00. At the same sale, Casins were going for \$1500 and \$1600.¹⁴³ Trumble thought it wise to apprise the public of some of the new paintings in the collection of John G. Johnson of Philadelphia, (also one of the donors--though not of impressionism--to the Loan exhibit at the World's Fair). The list includes: three pastels by Degas; Manet's Kearsearge and Alabama; The Boat, The Railroad Bridge, La Manne Porte Etretat, by Monet; two landscapes by Pissarro; four paintings by Raffaelli, and two works by Alfred Sisley.¹⁴⁴

May 1893, was a bright month in New York for the impressionists. On the third day of the month, "a remarkable exhibition of impressionist paintings by Monet, Besnard, Twachtman, and Weir"¹⁴⁵ was opened at the American Art Galleries.¹⁴⁶ By this time, The Art Amateur thought impressionism was truly remarkable. During the previous month an anonymous critic in the last-mentioned journal could say that, "...anyone who remained long enough in the Vanderbilt gallery to see his [Monet's], Haystack in Snow, and his View of Antibes must accord him a place even superior to that of Corot.... We believe that much of what Monet has gained can be retained with more delicate drawing and a technique that will allow us to enjoy a picture at a comparatively short range."¹⁴⁷ The criticism of Monet from the viewpoint of what appeared to be his poor drawing and draughtsmanship is worth noting. Apparent lack of drawing skill was one of the big "stumbling blocks" for critics and public alike to impressionism. Is not

this perhaps what was behind Trumble's remarks on the May impressionist show? "The criticism which once derided them, denying even the undeniable good there is in them, now is blind to the undeniable bad." And now, he continues, that we have no men of 1830 (the Barbizon group), we are offered the men of 1890! This is not great art, he concludes, nor the art of the future, it is simply too materialistic.¹⁴⁸ Albert Besnard, the painter "perched on the ragged edge of impressionism," is the truly great painter. Yes, it seems Besnard was the painter most people could grasp. All three journals, The Art Amateur, The Collector, and The Critic, all select Besnard from this May Show of impressionist painters as the one point of reference for their understanding of this new art. Not only that, but Trumble exalts him above any of the others as we shall see. The reviewer from The Critic tells us that as far as the American impressionists Weir and Twachtman are concerned, they just use paint. Monet is really the skilled painter and his paintings grace and add fame to Chicago's Mrs. Potter Palmer's collection of modern art. "Any one who has seen the collection of Monets in Mrs. Potter Palmer's little circular gallery at Chicago, where some two or three pictures at a time are sure to be properly lit, knows what delightfully true grays these incandescent and iridescent patches of color produce when seen in the requisite conditions."¹⁴⁹

The great art feature of the summer of 1893 was, of course, the Chicago World's Fair and the international art it put on exhibit for all the nation to see. As we have continually stressed from the beginning of this chapter, the most important collection of French art was unquestionably in the fine Loan collection. In 1881, Antonin Proust, a personal friend of Manet's had been made the Minister of Fine Arts in Gambetta's cabinet.¹⁵⁰ As the date of the Fair

approached, many critics became fearful that the French exhibit of Fine Art would be overweighted in the direction of M. Proust's modern tastes. As it turned out, no such fear need have been entertained. The only really outstanding impressionist art was in Sara Hallowell's Loan exhibit. Although J.M. Bowles, editor of Modern Art, the progressive Indianapolis art journal, was aware of the impressionists at the Fair, he was disappointed as he felt there was nothing of consequence in the official French exhibit. "No exhibit of French art can be representative from which are missing such men as Degas, Cassin, Dagnan-Bouveret, Puvis de Chavannes, Monet, Pissarro and Renoir."¹⁵¹ Of course, works of all these artists were in the Loan exhibit.

Even though The Art Amateur's Montague Marks was a friend of Sara Hallowell and knew better than any other New York art journal editor just what she had done with her Loan exhibit for the Fair, he could not yet swallow impressionism whole. His articles still provoked comment, especially his queries in the September issue of his magazine. "It would be very interesting if we could have a report from some oculist of repute as to the actual condition of the eyesight of Monet, Pissarro, Renoir and others of the impressionist school...."¹⁵² Elaborating this argument, Marks seemed actually to believe that most of the impressionists were far-sighted. "Bye and bye, pictures may be painted and sold to fit the special sight of prospective owners. Indeed, the time may come when every picture at an exhibition will bear a tablet instructing the visitor at what distance he is expected to view the painting; and in the case of the work of acutely myopic impressionism, the visitor may be invited to 'drop a penny in the slot,' of the frame to secure the use of a binocular glass which will spring out ready focused, to suit the picture before him."

As the Columbian centennial year drew to a close, it found Alfred Trumble still thoroughly convinced of his stand on impressionism. Speaking of a recent show at Durand-Ruel's in Paris, he pontificated that Gauguin is "a sort of modern mystical realist...." Mary Cassatt was "another enigma for critical solution," although he admitted her curious charm that prevailed "in spite of her deliberate adherence to the ugly," and finally graciously conceded she was a gifted painter.¹⁵³ The Chautauquan, which generally ran articles on Classical art, had by the end of 1893, a few things to say about impressionism through the opinion of Charles Mason Fairbanks. His essay "How to Study the Fine Arts," terminates with a word about impressionism. A note at the foot of the page describes the movement: "The doctrine that natural objects should be painted as they first strike the eye, reproducing the impression made upon the mind."¹⁵⁴ He fairly exhorts his readers to "be patient" with those advanced painters who deal with the problems of sunlight as it is, broken, refracted, reflected, and vibrated. Granted that they may appear to be maddened by a prismatic nightmare, they are not for that reason altogether wrong in their aims. "When the first wild enthusiasm has spent itself, the reaction will carry them to that middle ground where they may meet in happy compromise with the academical draftsmen...." Here again, the emphasis is put on a certain "linear compromise," that was either looked for in these modern artists or expected. This bolsters the opinion that most of the critics of the nineties were still fundamentally judging impressionism from the position of nineteenth century academic standards. Few critics had developed a new aesthetic.

The year 1894 was to see the beginning of a complete breakthrough of impressionism into the art critical world of America, even through impressionist exhibits made hardly an ostentatious entry into the new year. In January, the

Delmonico galleries held another exhibit of Monet's paintings, and for the first time we detect a weak spot in philistine Trumble's criticism. The weaknesses are couched in such terms as to give the unsuspecting reader the idea that editor Trumble had really helped impressionist criticism along in the past. "For instance, here is a view of Antibes by Claude Monet, which shows the truth of what I have often urged about him, that he is a true artist when he forgets to practice on us as a mere painter."¹⁵⁵ And wonder of wonders, Trumble has some dole of praise for Alfred Sisley's pictures as well! February brought little excitement into the exhibiting world of the New York galleries. The Critic did think Mary Cassatt's show of paintings in Klackner's gallery on West 28th Street, (under the auspices of the Woman's Art Club), worth mentioning.¹⁵⁶

But apart from these shows, the tempo of journalistic criticism of impressionism was slow. However, the significant criticism of impressionism during this year was not to appear in any journal but rather in a lecture given by Hamlin Garland in Chicago. This lecture was later published as an essay in his book, Crumbling Idols.¹⁵⁷ Late in February, the American portraitist and illustrator, F. Hopkinson Smith delivered a lecture, "Impressionists and Impressionism," at the Art Institute of Chicago.¹⁵⁸ Besides these two attempts to defend impressionism, the critical literature benefitted greatly by W.C. Brownell's French Art, Classic and Contemporary Painting and Sculpture. Garland's lecture, however, reached just as wide an audience as Brownell's book even receiving critical notice in New York art journals.

Spring of 1894 brought a brief mention in the April Collector of the Caillebotte bequest.¹⁵⁹ Caillebotte, a wealthy bachelor, lived outside of Paris making a living as a nautical engineer. He became a friend of Monet and Renoir and

at once started to paint with them, collecting their works that they could not sell. "In the short time since he had met them, Caillebotte had already assembled such a collection that he began to plan its final disposition. In November of 1876, though he was then only twenty-seven, he wrote his will, leaving all his pictures to the State with the condition that they be ultimately hung in the Louvre; he named Renoir as executor. Haunted by the presentiment of an early death, Caillebotte was particularly anxious to provide financial security for a new group exhibition."¹⁶⁰

In 1893, Caillebotte died, leaving his collection of sixty-five paintings to the State and the Government received his gift with the greatest embarrassment. Politicians, Academicians, and critics all were outraged. The "great" academic painter, Gerome, summed up the position of the Institute thus: "'I do not know these gentlemen, and of this bequest I know only the title.... Does it not contain paintings by M. Monet, by M. Pissarro and others? For the Government to accept such filth, there would have to be great moral slackening....'"¹⁶¹ And so, despite Caillebotte's provision that the whole of the bequest be accepted by the Luxembourg,--the Louvre's museum of modern art--Renoir was forced to yield to the Government's dividing up the collection and taking only half of the paintings. This division of the bequest, however, was not settled for some two years. This is what Alfred Trumble was referring to in his April issue of his art journal.

Very enlightening were Trumble's critical comments in the June issue of The Collector. For a man who had spoken as if he were the "American Gerome" when it came to judging impressionism, his remarks in his own journal make us suspect again that his defenses against impressionism were falling. About the very artists who protested to the State about accepting the Caillebotte bequest, Trumble

tells us they are setting a bad policy for themselves. "Because they do not find impressionist art savory is no reason for their denying it the right to existence.... There can be no question but that impressionism or open-airism... is an actual artistic development of the time, and it cannot be excluded from the records without creating a serious break in their sequence." Montague Marks, too, was quite concerned over this whole affair of the Caillebotte legacy to the Louvre. He had been discussing in his chatty column, the "charming Monets," possessed by James Sutton of New York. This turned his attention to Caillebotte. Reflecting that the attitude of the French government can do nothing but push the impressionist market, he quite objectively remarks: "This portends an artistic revolution, indeed."¹⁶³

Returning to the art criticism of impressionism, we find that The Art Amateur ran another anonymous article on this subject. The essay was more of a review and commentary on the French critic Geffroy's article on the same subject in L'Encyclopaedie. In the author's comment he builds up Raffaelli's reputation as a great painter of the movement, which is certainly something Geffroy would not have done. And "Pissarro," the author assures us, "M. Geffroy seems to us to overrate a little, as he assuredly underrates Raffaelli...."¹⁶⁴ And again in June, Marks' magazine was running something of an unfavorable article on impressionism, although the author was unwittingly or wittingly aware of one of the planks in the platform of the new impressionist aesthetic. Quoting the English journal, Public Opinion, he writes: "Sunlight reveals to us, far too much; in plain English, the truth is not beautiful...." Not only that, but painting should "hide the crudities of bold glaring fact...." Even though crudities are allowed in fiction and in drama, they are not permissible in a painting, whose sole raison d'etre is "to be beautiful for itself alone." A good many

critics in this country are of this opinion, too, insists editor Marks. "Yet it must be admitted that pictures of Monet, and of his disciples, Pissarro and Sisley, seem to be selling more freely than ever in the U.S."¹⁶⁵

In August of 1894, Charles Fairbanks set about describing outdoor painting to his readers of The Chautauquan. In an essay entitled "Our of Doors With the Artist," he describes the procedure of a fairly academic painter working outside in the open air. This brings him around to describing "plein-airism," and "plein-airists," as the men who paint nature as she really is. They began less than twenty years ago, but today have many clumsy imitators who have discredited the best of the group. Though he does not brand Monet as one of these "clumsy imitators" he does say this much: "Because Monet finds that under certain atmospheric conditions the shadows are bluish or purplish...forthwith a presumptuous following declaring that he has solved the riddle of how to paint, burst upon a bewildered public with astounding canvases glowing with vivid colors applied by formula."¹⁶⁶ It is somewhat difficult to conclude from this that Fairbanks wishes to openly castigate these imitators, for, in this article, he mentions the summer outdoor "art camps" of both William Merritt Chase and Theodore Robinson. The former used many of Monet's own methods in his work and teaching, and Robinson was the best-known of Monet's disciples" in the United States in the nineties.

October saw another Midwestern art event reach the attention of the East coast critics. In the early part of the previous month, The St. Louis Exposition and Music Hall Association held its eleventh Annual art exhibit. The principal attractions of the Exposition were its artistic and musical features, a collection of mercantile displays, models of recent inventions and products of the State of Missouri.¹⁶⁷ Although John Philip Sousa gave four concerts a day, this

was the extent of any musical culture. The art exhibits were somewhat better. "The impressionists are represented at their best. By Manet, there is a splendid half-figure Portrait of Lady Mary _____, lent by M. Antonin Proust of Paris---a picture alternately worshipped and sneered at by exposition visitors." But the reviewer hastens to defend the painting: "But the person who frivolously laughs at it, at the first view, is apt to be more respectful when he looks a second time. There is a degree of vigor and truthfulness in this work that will impress any person in time." There were also on display two or three paintings each by Monet, Sisley, Pissarro, Renoir and Boudin. Pissarro's Prairie At Eragny is praised for helping the sightseer and critic alike to understand the other impressionist paintings and for being "one of the most luminous pictures in the exhibition...."

Trumble's Collector finished off the year with a brief essay on "Art Criticism" given by Henry W. Ranger and read before the Rembrandt Club in Brooklyn, New York. Ranger speaks of "the luminists" and begins by analyzing Monet and a few of the others. Monet is all color and light and no line. "There will always be a place for Monet and a few of the others--originators of extravagance."¹⁶⁸ Furthermore, Monet's personal method is too easy to copy, and "there are now groups of Adventists, or luminists, symbolists or Pointists." In the December issue of The Collector, Trumble has been to the Durand-Ruel galleries to see another display of impressionist art. His attitude betrays more leniency towards them. "One of the recent Monets is a charming bit of the garden of a French country-house joyous with midsummer sunshine and color." There were other canvasses he noted by Renoir, Lepine, Sisley, Pissarro, Boudin and Mary Cassatt.¹⁶⁹

For several reasons the year 1895 saw a positive tide of appreciation of impressionism moving from the East to the Midwest. First and perhaps the most

far-reaching event was the visit of the impressionist "follower" Raffaelli to New York and Chicago. Secondly, the large cities of the Midwest which had been holding loan exhibits for years, now began including in them impressionist art on loan from wealthy friends. St. Louis had done this in 1893, as had Louisville at the end of the same year. Cleveland followed with its impressionist show in 1894, and Pittsburgh followed suit in the same year. Finally, a group of enthusiastic critics in the Midwest, of whom Hamlin Garland was more or less the leader, began pushing impressionism.

A good example of Garland's clear and advanced thinking about the modern impressionist painters is the introduction he wrote in January, 1895 to the catalogue of the Palette and Cosmopolitan Art Clubs exhibit in Chicago. People think that conditions for the production of art in Chicago are especially hard, but Garland does not agree. Nor is a specific "art atmosphere" necessary for the production of art, for at bottom, the creative soul lives alone. "Monet makes Giverny, Giverny does not make Monet."¹⁷⁰ Our only excuse for being, as artists, lies in our individual and wholly original contribution to the art of the world. We must not repeat; we must not imitate. And yet, "there must be keen sensitiveness to the beautiful and significant in nearby things. The Chicago artist, being denied certain picturesque aspects of seashore and mountain-side, has a rare chance to develop unhackneyed themes in sky and plain and in the life of the city itself. The light floods the Kankakee marshes as well as the meadows and willows of Giverny. The Muscatatuck has its subtleties of color as well as L'Orse, and a little young haymaker on the banks of the Fox River is certainly as admirable for art treatment in paint or clay as a clumsy Brittany peasant in wooden shoes." At this juncture Garland briefly opens up the whole question of taste in buying

art and with his characteristic bluntness brands American taste as "intellectual timidity." This is what brings people to buy a picture on the strength of the Salon label and not upon individual judgment. This could also be described as the "adolescence of taste," and it accompanies the adolescence of creative art inveighed against in his "Introduction." "The fear of making mistakes is natural," he concludes, "and yet there are worse things than making mistakes. Sometimes we grow by our mistakes. Spontaneous exercise of taste would be mightily instructive to the historian of art as well as to the artist."

Back in New York City, the critics were enjoying a January Monet show sponsored again at the Durand-Ruel gallery. There is even a spark of enthusiasm in Trumble's column as he tells us that the show is "of uncommon interest. There are forty-eight canvases hung, and from them, for the first time, Americans may come to know the artist in his various stages of development."¹⁷¹ The anonymous Art Amateur critic thought this Monet show should make people conscious of both the virtues and defects of the impressionists. Monet's paintings of seas and gorges, captivating in their freshness, forced the word "remarkable" from the critic. Monet's "pictures of poplars in long winding lines, the Etude de Mer with purple shadows of flying cumulus clouds," were in the same class.¹⁷²

Chicago responded more warmly to Monet when Durand-Ruel sent to that city a good number of the paintings that Trumble had seen in New York. A March Monet show was then held.¹⁷³ The Chicago Evening Post for Friday, March 22, had a good deal to say about the paintings of Monet that had been on display for five days. These twenty paintings were fitting successors to last week's show of Inness' works. "The glow, the softness, the richness, the impalpableness, so to speak, of the American Master have given place to the freshness, the frankness, the

buoyancy and what Theodore Robinson calls 'the superb carelessness of facture' of this leading French impressionist."¹⁷⁴ This disdain for the smooth facture is what affronts the critics, writes our columnist, and he yields to the anti-impressionist rage calling Garden at Bordighiere and Autumn at Jansolle, "tiresome." "One may not like tightness, but here is a work so loose that it is coming apart." And yet we should be patient, as Monet has shown us a good many "tight," studied and serious paintings here, such as Wooded Road and The Chailly Road Fontainebleau. "Those do not look like Monet's at all," said a visitor. 'No, no,' responded her escort patronizingly, 'some are quite rational.'" Even more beautiful than the two mentioned above was the Slopes of Vetheuil, "with the river spreading wide among lush grass and a lovely dappled sky." There were also marines with bulky vessels making waving reflections in thick greenish water, the famous arched rock stained with time and the Cliff of Varangesville painted in streaks. Then fields sprinkled with poppies: a meadow in which appeared purple shadows people expected and finally the inevitable Haystack. We are informed that Potter Palmer owns several of those famous Haystacks and several of those equally characteristic rows of poplars. "Judge Payne, one is glad to see, has recently acquired the Springtime which was praised in these columns when first brought from New York." Our author ends on this optimistic note in favor of Monet: "Be careful how you say you have never seen anything in nature like his pictures. You have not looked close enough that is all."

Lucy Monroe, the New York Critic's correspondent, wrote of the same Monet show with simple faith and appreciation of his work. "Twenty pictures from the recent exhibition of Monet's work at Durand-Ruel's in New York are now attracting wonder and admiration at the Art Institute. In looking at them it is difficult to understand the clamor this painter has excited, so simple and rational

do they seem, so completely do the results justify the means."¹⁷⁵

Toward the latter part of February, Mary Cassatt drew some attention with her etchings and paintings at the New York Durand-Ruel gallery. Recalling for his readers her mural for the Woman's Building at the Chicago World's Fair, Montague Marks claimed that Mary Cassatt was the only American artist in whom M. Durand-Ruel has ever shown any interest.¹⁷⁶ But in New York art circles, March was Manet's month. Durand-Ruel was outdoing himself when he put on display twenty-nine of Manet's pictures which ranged from 1862 to the year before his death, 1882. Trumble would have his few words of criticism, all of which seemed to amount to the complaint that Manet was not Velasquez. "The weakness of Manet as I view it, was that he did not, like Velasquez build upon his impression, but was content to allow it to remain in its first stage." Trumble does admit, however, that this weakness was his strength because, "whatever there was strong in him came out in the full flush of power." And though he is kind to Manet he cannot resist a parting crack at the impressionists who are left behind. Appearing almost to condemn himself, Trumble said: "I do not believe Manet would have died at the age of fifty if he had been accorded the balm of unbiased criticism ten years before." This is followed by the critic's admonition: "Go and see the Manets at the Durand-Ruel galleries, but do not believe all you may be told about the successors who have made and who are making a harvest of grass which has sprung up above his grave."¹⁷⁷

Substantially the same Manet show arrived in Chicago in mid-May, we learn from the Art Institute's Daybook,¹⁷⁸ and sixteen of his paintings went on display May 29th.¹⁷⁹ The Critic's Chicago correspondent, Lucy Monroe, anticipated the arrival in her "Chicago Letter," of May 18th,¹⁸⁰ but it was not until June that she was able to praise Manet's paintings. When she did, however, she took

the time to choose six of the sixteen paintings as her favorites: Toreador Bowling, Portrait of Rochefort, Portrait of Faure, Christ and the Angels, His Garden, Street on the 14th of July.¹⁸¹

Spring of 1895, as we have seen, was a busy season for the impressionist dealer, Durand-Ruel. Monet and Manet were the heroes of the Spring exhibits, Monet in New York in January, in Chicago in March; Manet in New York in March and in Chicago in May. But the strangest thing of all was that the intervening month of April was given over in both cities to a man who was not considered a full-fledged member of the impressionist circle by the impressionists themselves, namely, Jean-Francois Raffaelli. The Art Amateur for April had no less than three articles on this impressionist follower and at the same time there was an exhibition of his works at the American Art Gallery, and he was himself in New York lecturing on his art. Not only that, but Ernest Knaufft in the "Practical Arts" section of the same journal presented in an article "Drawing for Reproduction" points to be learned by the young illustrator from the work of Raffaelli.¹⁸²

To judge from both newspaper publicity and art journal attention, the presence of Raffaelli in person along with his paintings made a greater impression on the art public of New York, Philadelphia and Chicago than the Monet and Manet exhibits. Just why this was so we shall see below. Spring of 1895 also saw a peculiar article entitled, "The Evolution of Impressionism" in Modern Art, by a critic named Otto Stark.¹⁸³ Stark claimed that the word "impressionism" is either perverted or indefinite in the minds of many. In this he would agree with Cecilia Waern's dictum quoted in the early part of this chapter. We must look backwards to understand impressionism. Look to the Centennial Exhibit of 1876 as the beginning of interest in impressionism, because the displays of

foreign art condemned the Hudson River school. Then came the Munich school with its browns and ivory blacks along with the "gray movement" from France. "This striving for grays was the result of the work carried on out of doors.... And this I consider the mightiest movement of modern times." Air and light were sought after, and the "high key," which meant painting as light and as near white as the palette would allow. Finally, we arrive at the present day "color impressionists." The extremists' work is still very extravagant, thinks Stark, but they will bring on the revolution.¹⁸⁴

At this point, Stark sums up his analysis with a description of the evolution of impressionism through a progressive lightening in palette tones and color. From the blacks and browns of the Munich school, to the grays of the first impressionists, to white, and then finally to color. He concludes with a definition of impressionism, again quite similar to that of Inness and others who did not see too clearly that the aesthetic of impressionism was a completely new aesthetic: "Impressionism has always meant to me the retaining of the first impression which nature makes upon us as we approach her...and rendering this impression...unhampered by tradition and conventionalities."

Mary Cassatt, who received such short notice earlier in the year, had another show of her paintings in the Durand-Ruel galleries on Fifth Avenue in the latter part of February. One reviewer thought he saw in her work influence of Manet, Degas, and the Japanese color print--this latter in her series of dry-point etchings.¹⁸⁵ Trumble still found even the Cassatt works hard to stomach because of her impressionist convictions. "That I do not agree with Miss Cassatt in viewing the antithesis of merely pretty art as the only cogent protest against artificiality and conventionalism, is because I believe that while beauty of form and grace of line are not to be found in nature, they are to be

preferred to coarser and less lovely themes."¹⁸⁶

In other parts of the country in 1895, art shows were becoming quite advanced in the quality of their entries. Charles M. Kurtz, a onetime artist and one of the directors of the Fine Art Section of the Columbian Exposition in 1893, handled the Twelfth Annual display at the St. Louis Exposition and Music Hall Association. And although we do not know from the art journals whether or not Kurtz had been able to secure any impressionist paintings, the odds are that among the six-hundred paintings displayed, there were some.¹⁸⁷ But if St. Louis did not have any impressionism on hand, the art gallery of the newly dedicated Carnegie Library in Pittsburgh did.¹⁸⁸ In an exhibit that was running through November and collected together by John W. Beatty, we are told there were some "real Monets and American imitation Monets...."¹⁸⁹ Finally, to cap off what was probably the most successful year so far in exhibition for the impressionists in America, Durand-Ruel galleries in New York gathered together a show of the works of John Lewis Brown, made up of forty-four works in oil, water, drypoint and mezzotints.¹⁹⁰

After 1895, the interest and critical material that can be found in the various art journals thins out. To judge from the kind of opinion that prevailed after this year, we could say that impressionism was certainly an established fact on the American art exhibition scene. No show would be complete without some representative of this new and "modern" art, either a French impressionist, or an American impressionist. Beyond this, people began to buy impressionism, thus enhancing its permanent character as substantial parts of future Loan exhibits. The Chicago catalogue for "Objects in the Museum" listed two works by Jean-Francois Raffaelli on loan from a Mrs. K.R. Papin, entitled Morning

Chocolate and Notre Dame.¹⁹¹ From January 1 to January 15th of the same year, the American impressionist, R.W. Vonnoh had a general exhibit of forty-one of his paintings. Vonnoh seems to have been something of a "follower" both of the French and American impressionists, but much more committed to the new painting than Sargent. Sadakichi Hartmann writing in 1901, thought of Vonnoh as one of the "Tarbellites" or American Impressionists.¹⁹² Another of the "American Ten" as they were called, Childs Hassam,¹⁹³ had four paintings in the Eighth Annual Exhibition of Water Colors, Pastels and Miniatures by American Artists during April.¹⁹⁴ Hassam and the others of the American impressionist group had been exhibiting for some time, both in the East and in the Midwest. It would be very interesting to trace American impressionism's influence on art criticism and try to discern to what degree it paved the way in American art circles for the acceptance of French impressionist art. Suffice it to say for the present, that it was definitely an influence.

In the August issue of The Chautauquan, one of the foremost art critics of the day, a man closely connected with criticism of the nineteenth century art, Clarence Cook, contributed a long article on some aspects of art in America. Though Cook's article is up-to-date enough, he fails to mention any influence of the American impressionists on the public's opinion of the French impressionists. He acknowledged that American art has come a long way since "we slumbered inert under the German fog..." of Munich and its school.¹⁹⁵ After Munich, Americans fell under the spell of "French Realism" of Meissonier and Gerome, the Belgians, Lyes, Stevens, Gallait, Tissot, and finally, the English Pre-Raphaelites. Consequently, Cook estimated that most of our art was derivative of Europe. "There is, no doubt, a deal of nonsense talked and written about Americanism in art. If we could get the real thing it would certainly be very

welcome, but it cannot be produced to order, it will have to come as the slow result of national growth." The only reason our artists have received acclaim in Europe is because they have followed accepted methods and ideas of the foreign schools. Such are Sargent, Abbey, Cecilia Beaux, Millet and Mary Cassatt. The fame they have gained is not as Americans, but as Frenchmen. But all things considered, our art does not lack poetry. And at this remark, Cook, with something of a prophetic flair, lights on the name of the American artist, Arthur B. Davies, as one of these "poets." "Among the few poets we have to boast of, there is much to hope for from Mr. Arthur B. Davies, whose work, seen hitherto in out of the way corners, where, however, it aroused the curiosity of those on the alert for true painting...was shown for the first time last winter in a sufficient number of examples to make a distinct impression at Mr. William MacBeth's gallery in New York."¹⁹⁶ And finally he ladles out some small praise to Mary Cassatt for her fine work redolent of Japanese color prints.

In September of 1896, the St. Louis Exposition had its 13th Annual art show, and notice of the impressionists Monet, Pissarro, Sisley and Renoir came to the attention of The Art Amateur in New York.¹⁹⁷ In the same way did the Annual Pittsburgh show at the Carnegie galleries where some of the works of Degas and Raffaelli were shown come to the notice of the critic, I. McDougall.¹⁹⁸ But by far and away the most important and startling item in the art journals of late 1896 was what amounted to a retraction on the part of Alfred Trumble of his fiery barbs against the impressionists. In the middle of December he published an article in The Collector in which he rhapsodized over the "wondrous" pictures in the Durand-Ruel galleries. "If there has every been in any art dealer's establishment in New York, by which I mean in effect the United

States, such an aggregation and display of pictures of the first fire as the Durand-Ruel galleries now hold and make, I certainly have neither seen it nor heard of it in the records." And turning to the impressionists with what almost amounts to sympathy, Trumble continues: "The apostles of the gospel of light have as good a friend in M. Durand-Ruel today as those of the gospel of romance had years ago." But lest he be mistaken, Trumble interjects the fact that he does not "bolt their gospel whole. As far as I am concerned they ask me to swallow too much. But in spite of the extremes to which they run, there are times when their note is resonant and true." And then, too, we must all be patient. "Monet cannot always figure as an experimenter. Camille Pissarro, a strong man of less power...has his knack of surprising one," as he does with his Bridge and Quay at Rouen. Even for Mary Cassatt, whom he usually could not quite understand because of her coarseness of line and somewhat crude work, he could find some pleasant remark to make about her paintings and pastels. Not only that, but he actually expressed a wish that her At the Opera would end up in the Metropolitan museum. Mary Cassatt was really able to get a "true characterization of childhood."¹⁹⁹

The year 1896 ended on something of a happy note for those behind the impressionists in America. Modern Art, out in the Midwest, echoed Trumble's sentiments in a little more blunt a fashion. Monet has done most to bring about this "disintegration of tone" in painting, wrote Helen M. Knowlton, in the winter issue. And he has gone further than that. "He delved hard and deep for what he learned; but in the expressive street parlance of the day, he has 'arrived.'" She was convinced that his ideas have been of incalculable importance.²⁰⁰

The writing on impressionism in the art journals of the country tapered off

still more in 1897. Interest was still strong in the gallery shows and in lectures out in the Midwest. The American illustrator and writer, F. Hopkinson Smith, gave another lecture at The Art Institute of Chicago, this time on "Modern French Impressionism in Art and Literature."²⁰¹ Modern Art, from its new publishing home of Boston, did a handy job of defending the impressionists in a review of Richard Muther's The History of Modern French Painting just off the press. Muther was a Professor of art history at the University of Breslau, but this did not dissuade the reviewer from objecting to the good professor's remarks about Monet. "He [Muther], speaks too exclusively of his pictures dealing with problems of strong light, even going to the extent of claiming that 'carousals of sunshine and orgies in light are the exclusive material of his pictures.' That this is not so, all who have seen any number of Monet's paintings should admit. A gentleman in New York has eighty examples of Monet, and though I have seen but a part of his collection, their range and variety of treatment is not to be denied."²⁰²

Understanding of Monet and impressionism was even further broadened for readers of Modern Art in the same Winter issue when an Anna Schmidt contributed her "An Afternoon with Claude Monet."²⁰³ This woman critic thought that no one should criticize the vivid coloring of Monet's pictures till he has seen the hills and valleys around his home at Giverny. Monet paints entirely out-of-doors and even in Winter. "Showing us a snow scene that he had made in Norway, he said, 'I always work out of doors in winter with bare hands. I never feel the cold. I finish such canvases entirely out of doors, indeed, I never touch anything in my studio.' But again he repeated, 'There can be no rule for painting; some do good work indoors, some bad work in the open air, it depends upon

the man.'" Such is the earnestness of a man who is attempting to solve nature's mysteries on canvas, "'la nature qui ne s'arrete pas.'"²⁰⁴

The acceptance of the impressionists as bona fide artists by the American art journals seemed to be justified by the reaction of Europeans. At least this would seem to be the reason why Montague Marks made the following observation regarding the Berlin museum. "A glance at the official catalogue of the recent acquisitions by the Berlin Museum...recalls how wonderfully the prejudice against Manet and his fellow impressionists has been overcome in less than a year.... But the purchase by the Berlin authorities of a collection of Manets, Monets, Renoirs and Pissarro's mark even a more distinct gain by the impressionists than that made among their own countrymen."²⁰⁵ Alfred Trumble in New York was also reflecting on the importance of the backing given by Durand-Ruel to the impressionists, when few people in America except Albert Spencer bought them in the beginning. At that time, (April 1), there was a large display of Pissarro's paintings at the Durand-Ruel gallery from 1871 up to the past year. And although Trumble admits he does not quite get out of Pissarro or impressionism what others do, still, "...I am not the arbiter maximus, and I looked at some pictures of his the other day that I should like to own myself."²⁰⁶ We might safely say at this point, that Trumble has been definitely won over to the modern art and impressionism.

However, though the conversion to impressionism had come about in most of the art journals, there was still a considerable amount of reactionary feeling in the air. One such cautious critic, Mr. Arthur J. Eddy of Chicago, wrote an article in this conservative tone in Brush and Pencil on perhaps the most traditional of all impressionists, Edouard Manet. He clearly did not like Manet's

efforts at realism, such as his posing his model nude in his famous Olympia, which was then in the Luxembourg.²⁰⁷ Eddy's favorite Manet, (he dare not wholly dislike him as he already owned in his collection The Philosopher²⁰⁸), was The Boy With the Sword. Although Manet's art lacked purity, it lacked only too apparently exactly what his soul lacked, but it did not lack quality. Manet painted things as he saw and felt them, but he never saw and never felt the best side of things. "For instance The Boy With the Sword contains the best there was in Manet, because the subject was not one to excite the worst. There is no woman in it; there is no Paris in it; there is no decadence in it; therefore, Manet painted at his best without a single vicious thought and this was something he seldom did." And Manet's Nana, of course, to Eddy expressed a "viciousness of the motive."²⁰⁹ For Eddy, Manet's view was essentially morbid and decidedly turbid.

As we saw above, The Collector's Alfred Trumble had done something of an about face with regard to his opinion of Mary Cassatt's painting. The Critic had been somewhat severe with Miss Cassatt, too, and her "ugly women." "Miss Cassatt's strong but rather affected paintings of ugly women plucking fruit or posing on park benches with a marigold between their fingers, have become familiar to exhibition goers...are still worth seeing many times more."²¹⁰ And now a collection of her oils, pastels and etchings at Durand-Ruel's received quite favorable notice.²¹¹ The Art Amateur, which had been attracted by her works from the beginning of her shows in New York, commented on the Durand-Ruel show begun in March and praised her work highly.²¹² This was in April. In their May issue, the "Impressionist from Pennsylvania," was the feature attraction of the magazine. Seven works of hers, three sketches and four oils were reproduced in the

journal, and the modern art apologist, Roger Riordan reviewed her achievement in art with enthusiasm.²¹³ Pissarro, too, had been invited personally to bring his paintings and come himself to an impressionist show in Pittsburgh in early summer. As it turned out, he did not go, but did send two of his paintings. In June of 1898 he wrote to Lucien about this affair. "I am sending two paintings to America, to the exhibition in Pittsburgh, I was invited by the director, a charming man. He also invited me to be a member of this year's jury, with traveling expenses paid both ways, and for the best hotels, by the Pittsburgh Museum. I would stay for fifteen days. Naturally I declined out of principle...."²¹⁴

In the Spring of 1899, The Art Interchange reflected on the past two decades of art seen in the great expositions of the times. Reiterating what so many critics before him had said, "The Observer" wrote: "The artistic features of the World's Fair at Chicago were a revelation and an education to millions of people.... The Centennial of 1876 and the expositions of Nashville, Atlanta, New Orleans and Omaha all did much for art interest in this country."²¹⁵ Furthermore, there was something to look forward to in the Pan-American exposition in Buffalo in 1901 which would surpass all but the Chicago World's Fair. There was no question that the great Fairs and Expositions had done a great deal for art and especially for modern art. Yet by and large, by the end of the century, it was still the small shows and exhibits in private galleries and clubs that received greater attention. Because of the concentration in such private or restricted exhibits, one, two, or only a few artists could be appreciated at once, thus giving the critics scope to penetrate beneath the surface in their criticism.

Such was the Monet show at the New York Lotus Club in March of 1899, and such was the attitude of Montague Marks. The editor of The Art Amateur could not

help noticing that the exhibitions of paintings of this great impressionist attracted more attention from the press than any other of the minor exhibitions this month. "Can it be," he asked, "that the newspapers are only now waking up to the fact that there is something in Monet after all?" Marks wonders just why this could be so. "And is this change due wholly to Mr. W.H. Fuller's affecting narrative of how in 1845, the painter walked the streets of Paris all day long bearing under his arm a picture that he tried in vain to sell? There is nothing that so captivates the newspaperman as a pathetic little story like this...."²¹⁶ "The Observer," in The Art Interchange also believed that Monet was a painter of marked individuality and power, "but he is also a man of distinct limitations, and there is no denying that in recent years he is at a standstill."²¹⁷ Nevertheless, though Monet may have exhausted his creativeness, he still stands out as the originator of the great movement in this final decade of the nineteenth century.

Fair as the criticism of the "Observer" in the Art Interchange may appear, it nonetheless, brought a few letters to the editor implying that "The Observer" was subject to a certain amount of bias. The reviewer protested that he did not mean to be derogatory, and that he really considered Monet to be one of the influential forces in modern art. "What was uttered was a protest against the hysteria of one of his over enthusiastic friends, who lost all balance in endeavoring to influence others. Monet is part of the art movement of modern times, but is not to be regarded as a distinct revelation, come out of the sky, but a development of former conditions."²¹⁸ By "former conditions" the reviewer seems to be referring to the Barbizon painters. These editorial qualifications are followed by an article in the same issue on "The School of Modern Impressionism," by a Virginia C. Johnson. In the course of her essay she defined impressionism

as "the effect upon one's consciousness of a hasty glance at any object...." Pointing up the naturalness of the impressionist method she adds: "The ordinary impressions of a casual observer should be the legitimate field of the impressionist." Nor should the impressionist represent more than seven objects or groups of objects on the canvas at once.²¹⁹ Unfortunately, this was but a short essay during the course of which the author neglected to refer to any particular impressionist. A final show of about thirty of the works of the then late Alfred Sisley were on display at the Durand-Ruel galleries in April.²²⁰

Out in the Midwest, a certain amount of reflection was taking place in the minds of some of the critics. Surprisingly enough the most positive and favorable assessment of the impressionists appeared in a newspaper, The Chicago Times Herald. When one remembers Montague Marks' criticisms of the New York press reaction to the impressionists, the Times Herald feature should be considered as significant as anything else written about the impressionists. The anonymously written essay opens: "As the century nears its end and a resume is made of the artistic achievements and dominant art movements of the past hundred years, instinctively our thoughts turn first to France,...and when all is said it must be acknowledged that the impressionists have produced the largest number of geniuses--geniuses who have made a mark by which the century will be best known." This would be praise enough coming from a newspaper, but the author goes further picking the great leaders of the group, Manet, Monet, Renoir, Sisley, and Pissarro. Pissarro, one of the most distinguished of the group, is worthy of a place among the immortals. And just now a fitting tribute has been paid Monet, Pissarro, Renoir and Sisley by an exhibition of their works in Paris. And furthermore, "word has just been received that a number of Pissarro's delightful canvases have been purchased by Americans, who have ever been quick to recognize

his genius. One of the most notable of his canvases that have been brought to these shores is owned by Potter Palmer. It is called The Village...." Continuing, the article praises Pissarro's ability as a colorist, as the longtime defender of the new movement, surviving not only one new movement but two, "preserving what is best in all, and even hinting in his green old age at further developments."

Nor is The Times Herald critic satisfied with his appraisal of Pissarro, but goes on to compare him with Millet and attempts to assess him in relation to Millet. This was, indeed, a daring thing for a critic to do in the light of Millet's thirty years or so popularity with Americans of all levels of culture. Few were the critics that had attempted this in the past twenty years, and those who did, did not bring their remarks off nearly so well as this anonymous journalist. He writes: "When the impressionist movement began Camille Pissarro was already the recognized landscape painter of the Norman Plains. He once more set the painting of peasants upon the strong lines of Millet, and added to them a fresher, more potent charm.... As a technician he is in every way Millet's superior." This pleasant critic ends his evaluation of Pissarro with a mention of Pissarro's attempt to divorce art from literature, thus bringing out another of the planks in the new impressionist aesthetic.²²¹ Up to this account, such praise had hardly ever been lavished on Pissarro. Among all the impressionists, he had been the one whose paintings Durand-Ruel had the most difficult time selling. His own personal remarks on the trials and struggles preserved for us as they are in Letters to His Son Lucien show how dispirited he could be and this at the very moment he was receiving this warm and enthusiastic praise in Midwestern America.

With the year 1900, the story of the American critical reaction to impressionism draws to a close. At this moment in history, impressionism had really become the fashion. Shows of impressionist paintings, either in museums or on loan, were regular occurrences in the art life of all the major cities of the Midwest. For certain, we know of those of Chicago, Cleveland, St. Louis, Pittsburgh, and Louisville. It is quite safe to say that no show of European art would ever leave our representative paintings of the impressionists. And yet, in the midst of all this enthusiasm for impressionism and its "founders," Americans developed a particular interest and affection for those who were not completely impressionist by modern standards, men who "followed" the methods and the ideals of the leaders, adopting or adapting them for many personal reasons. These men, too, were "accepted" and "in fashion." Besnard, Raffaelli, Cazin, Sargent, and even Whistler. And although New York's Art Interchange could in July of 1900 write very sympathetic articles on Monet among his flowers at Giverny, speak of "his strong forceful person...his method in work is characterized by boundless industry and patience...",²²² still there was dissatisfaction with him.

But perhaps, it was not so much dissatisfaction as it was delight in the "follower" painters, based on an ease of "understanding" what such "followers" were about, that could be seen in the work of a Raffaelli, a Zorn, a Besnard. Added to this was the fact that Raffaelli was the only member of the wide circle of impressionists who really backed his own merchandise with lectures and lectures, all over the major sections of the North and East and Middle West--Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, and Pittsburgh. January of 1900 saw another show and personal lecture tour of Raffaelli to Chicago. Needless to say, the show was a great success, receiving eager and sincere praise from three of

Chicago's newspapers, The Tribune, The Times Herald, and The Post. So successful had been the impressionists and so completely had they been accepted, that when the American impressionist, J.H. Twachtman, held an exhibit of his works in Chicago, December of 1900, the Times Herald could report its success mainly because of the likeness of his paintings to the impressionists. "Like many of his contemporaries, Mr. Twachtman has followed Manet in the painting of light; also the lyricism of color that originated with Whistler.... He is an impressionist in the best sense of the term--valid, sane impressionism. Sunlight strives for mastery in his canvases. Several of Mr. Twachtman's works which will be exhibited recall similar subjects by Monet, so deeply do they impress the observer that they were painted in the open air, with his models actually before him."²²³ Impressionism had, indeed, come to the Midwest, and the Midwest liked what it saw.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

- 1 John Rewald, Post-impressionism, From Van Gogh to Gauguin, 1886-1893 Vol. I, (New York, 1956), p. 7.
- 2 Wilhelm von Bode, Kunst Und Künstler, Vol. I, pp. 5-12.
Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 387-89.
Ibid., Vol. III, pp. 35-38.
Ibid., Vol. V, pp. 3-6.
Ibid., Zeitschrift Zur Bildenden Kunst, N.F., Vol. V, S. pp. 137-45: 162-69.
Ibid., Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger, N. 637, Dec. 31, 1911.
Cf. also, Hans Tietze, Masterpieces of European Painting in America, (New York, 1939), introduction.
- 3 Francis Henry Taylor, Taste of Angels, (Boston, 1948), as well as his article "Moral and Intellectual Responsibilities of Expanding Collections," The American Philosophical Society Proceedings, Vol. 98, no. 4, 1954, 245-9, and his "Collector's Conscience," Art in America, Vol. 45, no. 4, (Winter, 1957-58), 10-11.
- 4 Aline B. Saarinen, The Proud Possessors (New York, 1958), especially her chapter on Mrs. Potter Palmer of Chicago. Ishbel Ross, Silhouette in Diamonds (New York, 1960).
- 5 Russell Lynes, The Tastemakers (New York, 1949), p. 4. Also quite helpful to the author on the question of American taste were the following books and articles: John A. Kouwenhoven, Made in America (New York, 1948), especially chapter three; Yvon Bizardel, American Painters in Paris, tr. by Richard Howard, (New York, 1960); René Brimo, L'Evolution du Gout Aux Etats-Unis D'Après L'Histoire des Collections, (Paris, 1938); Van Wyck Brooks' works were of inestimable value throughout the course of the research, especially the following: The Confident Years, (1885-1915), (New York, 1952); The Dream of Arcadia (New York, 1958) with its informing essays on American artists and writers in Italy from 1760 to 1915; Fenollosa and His Circle (New York, 1962) which practically wrapped up all the information the author had been seeking on this mysterious art critic of the nineties in one concise and brilliant essay; John Sloan, A Painter's Life (New York, 1955); Scenes and Portraits (New York, 1954) with its fascinating first-hand sketches of personalities of the era under study by the author Brooks himself, and finally, his New England: Indian Summer, (1865-1915) (New York, 1940). Two articles which, if not helpful, were certainly interesting on the topic of collecting and collecting taste: John Canaday's essay on the French Salon art of the period entitled "From Salon to Cellar--and Back?", Horizon, Vol. 2, no. 4 (March, 1960), 52-69; and Nelson Lansdale, "Mrs. Gardner's

Palace of Paintings," Horizon, Vol. 1, no. 6, (July, 1959) 27-40.

6 Lynes, p. 6.

7 Ibid., p. 138.

8 Ibid., p. 167.

9 Ibid., p. 172.

10 Ibid., p. 4.

11 Frank Luther Mott, "The Magazine Revolution and Popular Ideas in the Nineties," Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, Vol. 64, Pt. I, (April 21, 1954-Oct. 20, 1954 [published in 1955/], 195-214. As regards Chicago specifically, cf. Herbert Fleming's two articles, "The Literary Interests of Chicago," in the American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 11, 377, 499, 784 and Vol. 12, 68; and Fleming's book of articles, "Magazines of a Market-Metropolis" (Chicago, 1906).

12 Mott's three volumes were very valuable, most especially, A History of American Magazines (Cambridge, Mass., 1938), Vol. 3, 1865-1885 and Vol. 4, (Cambridge Mass., 1957) 1885-1907. I am deeply indebted here to the suggestions of Dr. Hans Huth at the Art Institute of Chicago. His article "Impressionism Comes to America," in the Gazette de Beaux Arts, Vol. 29, Ser. 6, (Jan. 1946), 225-252 was my first inspiration (along with his kind encouragement) to work on the present subject. It was Huth who first suggested a comparison of the critical writing of art critics from East and Midwest. On this problem see this chapter, p. 17 ff.

13 Mott, Vol. 3, p. 185.

14 Art Amateur, Vol. 11, (June, 1884), and Vol. 12, (May, 1885).

15 Ibid., Vol. 27, no. 2, (July, 1892), 26.

16 Mott, Vol. 3, p. 184 ff.

17 Ibid., Vol. 4, p. 147.

18 Ibid., Vol. 3, p. 548-551. For more on the Gilders and their circle of literary and artistic friends cf. William Webster Ellsworth, A Golden Age of Authors (New York, 1919).

19 Mott, Vol. 3, pp. 184 ff.

20 Ibid.

21 Ibid., Vol. 3, p. 460. Scribner's had various titles as a periodical: 1870-1881, Scribner's Monthly, An Illustrated Magazine for the People; 1881-1929, The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine; 1929-1930, The Century Quarterly.

- 22 Ibid., Vol. 3, p. 544. Actually Dr. Vincent was the real founder as Flood points out in "Old Chautauque Days," The Chautauquan, Vol. 13, no. 5, (August, 1891), pp. 561-93. The Chautauquan was published first from Cleveland, Ohio, and then from Springfield, Ohio. Cf. Mott, Vol. 4, p. 95.
- 23 Ibid., Vol. 3, p. 540. The Dial should be distinguished from the pre-Civil War journal of the same name. In 1916, The Dial moved to New York.
- 24 "Introductory Note," Modern Art, Vol. 1, no. 1, (January, 1893), no pagination.
- 25 Mott, Vol. 4, p. 147. For this information I am indebted to Mr. Wells, Curator of the Rare Book Room, Newberry Library, Chicago. On T.C. Steele, cf. Wilbur D. Peat, Pioneer Painters of Indiana, (Indianapolis, 1954) pp. 200-203, 239.
- 26 Mott, Vol. 4, p. 450 ff. Some of these "advanced" writers who wrote for The Chapbook were Thomas Bailey Aldrich, Hamlin Garland, Max Beerbohm, Alice Brown, John Burroughs, Richard Burton, George Washington Cable, Stephen Crane, Paul Lawrence Dunbar, Eugene Field, Clyde Fitch, Edmund Gosse, Thomas Hardy, Joel Chandler Harris, William Ernest Henley, Stephane Mallarme, Arthur Quiller-Couch, Robert Louis Stevenson, Maurice Thompson, Paul Verlaine, etc.
- 27 Ibid., Mott, Vol. 4, p. 147.
- 28 Jean Renoir, Renoir, My Father (Boston, 1962), p. 253.
- 29 Especially his The Confident Years, 1885-1915, referred to above, note 5.
- 30 Dictionary of American Biography, [DAB, hereafter] ed. by Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, Vol. 4, (New York, 1943), p. 371. At present there seems to be no historical work which takes as its study the cultural aspects of the Great fairs and expositions of the 1890's.
- 31 Henry Chalfield-Taylor, "Early Memories of Chicago," The Century Magazine, Vol. 110, no. 4, (August, 1925), 459-65.
- 32 Here is a brief summary of some of the more important art auctions held over the years from 1886 to 1899. The list was compiled from various issues of The Critic.
- 1886 Mary J. Morgan Collection, (Barbizon painting),
 - 1887 W.T. Stewart Collection,
 - 1888 Albert Spencer Collection, (Barbizon painting),
 - H.T. Chapman Collection, (Barbizon painting),
 - 1889 Irwin Davis Collection, (Barbizon and French realism),
 - Secretan Collection,
 - 1891 Brayton Ives Collection, (Oriental porcelain and jade),
 - George I. Seney Collection,
 - 1892 R. Austin Robertson Collection, (Barbizon painting),
 - 1893 Knoedler Collection, (Barbizon and Impressionist painting),

1896 David H. King Collection, (Barbizon painting),
1899 Thomas B. Clarke Collection.

33 Cf. Appendix V.

34 In the course of reading the art literature of the period 1880 to 1900, the author came across the names of the following artists, who at sometime or other, by some critic or other, were called "impressionists." They are listed below in four groups, Group 1, being the closest in aesthetic, idea, execution etc. to the impressionists, Group 4 being the most distant.

<u>Group 1</u>	<u>Group 2</u>	<u>Group 3</u>	<u>Group 4</u>
Boudin*	Bastien-Lepage	Gervex	Benassit
Jongkind	Besnard	Forain*	Bompard
Monticelli	Cazin	Point	Carriere
	Dagnan-Bouveret	Montenard	Chenu
	Puvis de Chavannes		Dannat
	Raffaelli*		Danton
	Sargent		Dauphin
	Stevens		Desboutin*
	Whistler		Dinet
	Zorn		Fantin-Latour
			Fautin
			Flameng
			Fortuny
			Goenuette
			Harpignies
			Huguet
			Legros*
			Lepine*
			Mangeant
			Melin
			Roll
			Serret
			Le Sidanier
			Vidall*
			Vignon*
			Vollin

Of these forty-three artists, those marked with an asterisk exhibited in one of the French impressionist shows from 1874 to 1886. Cf. John Rewald, The History of Impressionism (New York, 1946), p. 435. To a greater or lesser degree, all the artists listed in Groups 2, 3, and 4 can be called "followers" of the impressionists. With this in mind, the author of the thesis had planned to insert a chapter entitled, "The French Impressionist Followers as Determining American Taste for Modern Art," right after chapter three. Lack of resources prevented him from doing so.

35 Lionello Venturi, "The Aesthetic Idea of Impressionism," The Journal of Aesthetics, (Spring, 1941), 34 ff. Also helpful are the following books by Venturi: Art Criticism Now, (Baltimore, 1941); and The History of Art Criticism, (New York, 1936). In the same proposed chapter mentioned in note 34 above, the author had intended surveying the various theories of the aesthetics of impressionism from the nineties to the present day. A few of the books that were consulted with this in mind were: John LaFarge, The Higher Life in Art (New York, 1908); Margaret Steele Anderson, The Study of Modern Painting (New York, 1914); Elizabeth Bisland, The Life and Letters of Lafcadio Hearn, (Boston, 1906); William C. Brownell, French Art, Classic and Contemporary Painting and Sculpture (New York, 1901); Charles H. Caffin, How to Study Pictures, (New York, 1905); R.W. Chambers, In the Quarter, /American Artist in Paris in the nineties--fiction/, (New York, 1894) and by the same author, The King in Yellow (New York, 1895); Theodore Child, The Praise of Paris (New York, 1893), the American art critic on tour in Europe; and by the same author, Summer Holidays (New York, 1889); Royal Cortissoz, Art and Common Sense (New York, 1913); and by Cortissoz also, John LaFarge, (New York, 1911), Personalities in Art (New York, 1925), and The Painter's Craft, (New York, 1930); Albert E. Elsen, Rodin's Gates of Hell, (Minneapolis, 1960), Horace Gregory, The World of James McNeill Whistler, (New York, 1959); G.F. Hartlaub, Impressionists in France (Milan, n.d.); Vera McWilliams, Lafcadio Hearn (Boston, 1946); Lafcadio Hearn, Leaves from the Diary of an Impressionist (New York, 1911); James Gibbons Huneker, Promenades of An Impressionist (New York, 1910); George Inness, Jr., Art and Letters of George Inness (New York, 1917); Henry James, The Painter's Eye: Notes and Essays on Pictorial Arts, ed. by James J. Sweeney, (Cambridge, Mass., 1956); James Jackson Jarves, The Art-Idea, ed. by Benjamin Rowland Jr., (Cambridge, Mass., 1960); Jean Leymarie, Impressionism, trans. by James Emmons, (New York, 1955); E.V. Lucas, French Leaves (Philadelphia, 1931); Frank Jewett Mather, Modern Painting (New York, 1927); Francois Mathey, The Impressionists (New York, 1961); George Moore's books as Confessions of a Young Man, (London, 1888); Impressions and Opinions (New York, 1891); and his essays on art patrons and picture dealers of the times, Modern Painting (London, 1893); Charles Merrill Mount, John Singer Sargent (New York, 1955); Esther Singleton, Modern Painting (New York, 1911); Russell Sturgis, The Appreciation of Pictures (New York, 1905); Lorado Taft, Painting and Sculpture in Our Time (Chicago, 1896); Paul Valery, Degas, Manet, Morisot, trans. by David Paul, (introduction by David Cooper) Vol. 12 (New York, 1960); John C. Van Dyke, History of Painting, (New York, 1904); and finally several articles such as can be seen referred to throughout chapter three of the present work.

There are numerous other articles, biographies and art studies from the nineties which the author intended to use in showing how these "impressionist followers" helped form attitudes among art collectors in America. Of the most recent works of some significance on the topic of the impressionist aesthetic was one lecture of a series given by Meyer Shapiro at the University of Indiana /Patton lectures/ March 8, 1961, entitled, "A Lecture on Impressionism, Aesthetic and Methodology" which will soon appear in book form. The author was privileged to hear Professor Shapiro's lecture.

36 It would be interesting to compare what the editors and writers for the French journal L'Art Moderne thought was modern art with what the American

editors of Modern Art thought on the same subject.

According to Jean Renoir, (Renoir, My Father), p. 175, Edmond Renoir made an attempt to publish a review called The Impressionist. During the course of the third impressionist exhibit, April 1877, Georges Riviere began publishing a review called, L'Impressioniste, Journal d'Art, (Rewald, The History of Impressionism, p. 314). Renoir's patroness, Mme. Charpentier, was instrumental along with her husband in seeing the weekly review, La Vie Moderne begin publication in Spring of 1879, (Ibid., p. 339). L'Art Moderne was a Belgian publication and eventually came under the sway of the symbolists, (cf. Rewald, Post-Impressionism, p. 150). Most of the journals mentioned here devoted to the cause of impressionism did not last. Part of the trouble seems to have been that such journals would not include artists whose works were becoming more popular in sections of Europe other than the area out of which the journals were published. Needless to say, France, too, was undergoing a "magazine revolution."

37 The art shows of the nineties of the cities of St. Louis, Pittsburgh, Detroit and Toledo will be developed in independent essays at a later date.

38 Rewald, Post-Impressionism, p. 7.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

- 1 Frank Jewett Mather, Modern Painting (New York, 1927) p. 97ff. Rewald says of this book: "This is the only book in English which devotes a whole chapter to a detailed analysis of the important problem of the 'Official Art in the Nineteenth Century.'" Cf. Rewald, The History of Impressionism, p. 450.
- 2 Mather, pp. 97-98, emphasis added.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 Ibid., p. 98.
- 5 Ibid., pp. 107-108. Some of Gerome's American pupils were George de Forest Brush and Kenyon Cox. Raffaelli, too, studied under Gerome. Cf. Rewald, History /designation used from now on to distinguish Rewald's History of Impressionism from his history, Post-Impressionism, From Van Gogh to Gauguin. This latter will be referred to simply as Post-Impressionism./, p. 62.
- 6 Mather, p. 109.
- 7 Ibid., p. 112. This Meissonier did for his painting Friedland, 1809. Hamlin Garland wrote of both Meissonier and Detaille in the nineties as follows: "Meissonier and Detaille always seem to me to partake of the art which carves a coach-and-four out of walnuts...." Hamlin Garland, Crumbling Idols, (ed. by Jane Johnson, Cambridge, 1960), the book was originally published in the nineties), p. 105.
- 8 Clarence Cook, Art and Artists of Our Time, in 3 Vols. (New York, 1888), Vol. I, p. 276. Oddly enough, Manet was a staff officer serving under Meissonier in 1870: and Felix Bracquemond, Carolus-Duran, Puvis de Chavannes and Tissot served with Manet in the same outfit. Cf. Rewald, History, p. 208.
- 9 Mather, p. 123. Also Will H. Low, and cf. this painter's A Chronicle of Friendships, 1873-1900 (New York, 1908). Also Rewald, History, p. 22.
- 10 Rewald, p. 23 and 62.
- 11 Dreiser, The "Genius," (New York, 1925), p. 51. The first printing was in 1915.
- 12 George Moore, Confessions of A Young Man (London, 1888), p. 123. As we shall see later, Moore was not at all correct in his evaluation of American taste. Lefebvre was an academician whose work seems hardly distinguishable from Bouguereau's. Mather's remark vis-a-vis the American buying-public is in

place: "I am convinced that the nude of Bouguereau was prearranged to meet the ideals of a New York stock broker of the black walnut generation," pp. 114-115. Catholics have only to recall how long Bouguereau's clothed Venuses masqueraded as Saints and Virgins in Barclay St. art.

13. Rewald, History, p. 19.

14. The following art books of the nineties were particularly helpful: Clarence Cook's three volumes referred to above, especially Vols. 1 and 3; Louis Viardot, The Masterpieces of French Art (Philadelphia, 1883) covers Salon art up to 1882; Armand Silvestre, (et al), ed. by J. Eugene Reed, The Gallery of Contemporary Art, (Philadelphia, 1885). These last two books were translations and editions of French critical opinion of the art of the times, with added comment by their various editors and translators. A few other books were helpful, but they will be referred to in the notes below.

15. Rewald, Post-Impressionism, p. 129.

16. Ibid., History, p. 77.

17. Ibid., p. 82ff.

18. Ibid., p. 83.

19. Ibid., p. 83.

20. Ibid., pp. 83-84. Rewald is quoting here the American painter, E. Wheelwright, "Recollections of Jean-Francois Millet," Atlantic Monthly, (September, 1876).

21. Rewald, ibid., p. 33ff.

22. Jean Renoir, Renoir, My Father, trans. by Randolph and Dorothy Weaver, (Boston, 1962), p. 71-72. Dias supplied Renoir with oils and other supplies when Renoir had not a cent to his name, cf. Rewald, History, p. 85.

23. Rewald, pp. 94-95. On Troyon, cf. Cook, Vol. I, p. 224.

24. Our acceptance of the Loan exhibit as "typical" of Loan exhibits of the nineties is based on our perusal of the various art shows in the Midwest. It is only for the Midwest, however, that we consider it typical.

25. Cook, Vol. I, p. 196.

26. Ibid., pp. 196-286.

27. Ibid., p. 286. It is important to mention here that there is practically no mention at all of the impressionist painters as we know them today, in all of Cook's three volumes. There is but passing mention of Courbet, Manet, and Degas, who in Cook's thinking, could hardly expect to get a commission from the State. He was aware that they had genius, though, cf. pp. 232-33.

- 28 Cook, Vol. I, p. 201.
- 29 Ibid., pp. 204-205.
- 30 Ibid., p. 206.
- 31 Armand Silvestre, The Gallery of Contemporary Art, (ed. by J. Eugene Reed), (Philadelphia, 1885), cf. the publisher's preface. Though most of the material was probably written by Silvestre, the historical survey of Salon art in the last part of the book seems quite American in outlook (Reed?). Silvestre was one of the few early "critic friends" of the impressionists, cf. Rewald, History, p. 250.
- 32 Silvestre, p. 10. Blondel and Bidault were both, of course, Members of the Fourth Class of the Institute. The fine arts jury, was established after the French revolution and continued judging painting by very reactionary norms. "The revolution of 1848 swept away this jury which had become notorious for proscribing Descamps, Rousseau, Diaz, Corot etc...." p. 11.
- 33 Cook, Vol. I, p. 208. Cook is most probably quoting from Theophile Silvestre's, Histoire des Artistes Vivants, (Paris, 1856).
34. Ibid.
- 35 Silvestre (et al.), and Reed, p. 11.
- 36 Viardot-Armstrong, The Masterpieces of French Art, Vol. I, p. 41. Cf. note 14 above for full reference to this work.
37. W.C. Brownell, French Art, Classic and Contemporary Painting and Sculpture (New York, 1901), p. 107. This work was originally published in the Fall of 1892. Some years later, F.J. Mather called W.C. Brownell the best art critic America ever produced, cf. Mather, p. 134.
- 38 Ibid., p. 111.
- 39 Clara H. Stranahan, A History of French Painting (New York, 1888), p. xviii.
- 40 Low, A Chronicle of Friendships, 1873-1900, pp. 112-113. Speaking of modern painting and painters, an art critic for The Chautauquan, Horace Townsend, lumped together as modern artists, Corot, Millet, Degas and Monet. Cf. Horace Townsend, "The Painter's Art in England," The Chautauquan, Vol. 20, no. 3, (Dec. 1894), p. 263.
- 41 Low, p. 113.
- 42 Cook, Vol. I, p. 212.
- 43 Ibid., pp. 213-14.
- 44 Ibid., pp. 216-17.

- 45 Ibid., p. 217.
- 46 Brownell, p. 107.
- 47 Charles de Kay, "Theodore Rousseau," The Century, Vol. 41, no. 4, (February, 1891), pp. 574 and 577.
- 48 Cook, Vol. I, pp. 217 and 221. Some "others" who began as porcelain painters were Dupré, Cabat, Raffet, Troyon, and later Renoir.
- 49 Ibid., p. 218.
- 50 Viardot-Armstrong, Vol. I, p. 61. Much of his public success was due possibly to the revolution of 1848, cf. Silvestre-Reed, p. 11.
- 51 John LaFarge, The Higher Life in Art, (New York, 1908), p. 8. The book is the text of the Scammon lectures given at the Art Institute of Chicago in May, 1903.
- 52 Ibid., p. 119.
- 53 Royal Cortissoz, "The Painter Diaz," The Century, Vol. 52, no. 1, (May, 1896), pp. 3-4. This article was illustrated with the photo-engraved plates of Diaz's, The Lovers, Landscape Under Shadow, and Landscape Under Sunshine.
- 54 Ibid., p. 6. Writing a short time later than Cortissoz, the American critic, James Gibbons Huneker, classed Diaz with those other "Waldmenschen," Millet, Dupré, and Daubigny. Cf. James Gibbons Huneker, Promenades of an Impressionist (New York, 1925), p. 3, (the book was first published in 1910). Palette-knife technique was common practice with Courbet, cf. Rewald, History, p. 134.
- 55 Montagus Marks, "My Note Book," The Art Amateur, Vol. 18, no. 5, (April, 1888), p. 105. Marks lists all sixty-eight paintings.
- 56 Ibid. The Little Shepherdess of Millet is the only painting in the present Palmer collection at the Art Institute of Chicago. Cf. Palmer catalogue in appendix, no. 23.
- 57 Especially in the light of the remark made in Alfred Trumble's, The Collector, Vol. 2, no. 1, (November 1, 1890), p. 23: "The collection of pictures which Mr. Potter Palmer is forming in Chicago is commencing to attract the curiosity of the general public. Even before the fire, Mr. Palmer was known as a purchaser of works of arts.... Native and foreign art combine in his gallery, and it is distinguished by high quality and a discriminating selectiveness that are more desirable than usual in extensive collections." Italics added.
- 58 Most recently in Ishbel Ross's Silhouette in Diamonds and Aline Saarinen's chapter on Mrs. Palmer in The Proud Possessors.
- 59 Cook, Vol. I, p. 220.

60 Viardot-Armstrong, Vol. II, p. 29, only mention his medals quoting from a French critic by the name of Rene Menard. He is mentioned only in passing by Silvestre-Reed, p. 49.

61 LaFarge, p. 123.

62 Cook Vol. I, p. 222. Again, Viardot gives but scanty information beyond a biographical summary of the artist's life, cf. Vol. I, p. 71. Silvestre does not mention him at all.

63 Cook, Vol. I, p. 222 and Rewald, History, p. 90.

64 Rewald, History, p. 90. Interestingly enough, Hamerton was supposed to join Robert Louis Stevenson and the American painter, Will H. Low, in the nineties for a journey down the Rhone in their own somewhat larger "botin." Unfortunately, Stevenson's tuberculosis flared up and the expedition had to be abandoned. Cf. Low, A Chronicle of Friendships, p. 298.

65 Viardot-Armstrong, Vol. I, pp. 71-2.

66 Robert J. Wickenden, "Charles-Francois Daubigny," The Century, Vol. 44, no. 3, (July, 1892) p. 323.

67 Ibid., p. 327.

68 Ibid., p. 330.

69 Ibid., p. 335. Even Van Gogh thought Daubigny could be classed as a modern painter, cf. below this chapter, p. 45ff.

70 On Damat, cf. Cook, Vol. III, p. 274-76. Also Sadakichi Hartmann, A History of American Art, in 2 vols., (Boston, 1932) Vol. II, pp. 174-75, and 178 and 212. Hartmann's books were originally published in 1901 and in some ways are still the best sources for the American artists of the 1890's. Hartmann links Damat with Whistler and sees him as one of Whistler's followers. Hamerton considered Damatt an impressionist, cf. Philip G. Hamerton, The Present State of the Fine Arts in France, (London, 1892), p. 29.

71 Montague Marks, "My Note Book," The Art Amateur, Vol. 21, no. 4, (September, 1889), p. 67.

72 Theodore Dreiser, The "Genius," (New York, 1925), p. 223. The book was first published in 1915 and is about the American 1890's.

73 Cook, Vol. I, p. 224.

74 Ibid., p. 224.

75 Viardot-Armstrong, p. 48.

- 76 Hamlin Garland, Crumbling Idols, p. 106.
- 77 Cook, Vol. I, p. 230.
- 78 Stranahan, p. 463.
- 79 Cook, Vol. I, pp. 230-31.
- 80 Ibid., p. 232.
- 81 Silvestre-Reed, pp. 17, 23, and 53.
- 82 They are: Breton, Millet, Jacque, Bonheur, Veyrassat, Beraud, DeWittis (the friend of Degas), Frere, Landelle and Bida.
- 83 Cook, Vol. I, p. 234.
- 84 Ibid.
- 85 Ibid., p. 235.
- 86 Ibid.
- 87 Ibid., p. 236.
- 88 Ibid., p. 237.
- 89 A critic who was most friendly to the impressionist painters and tried to win adherents for them, cf. Rewald, History, p. 288-89.
- 90 Cook, Vol. I, p. 237
- 91 Silvestre-Reed, pp. 37 and 70.
- 92 Viardot-Armstrong, Vol. II, p. 9.
- 93 Witness the titles of the paintings: After the Bath, Shepherdess, Peasants Carrying a New-born Calf, The Sheep Shearers, The Pig Killers, The Hay-makers, The Man with the Hoe, and The Gleaners.
- 94 For material on Sutton, his role in the collections of the nineties, cf. Hans Huth, "Impressionism Comes to America," in Gazette de Beaux Arts, S 6, Vol. 29, (January, 1946), pp. 225-252.
- 95 Montague Marks, "The Sale of the Secretan Pictures," The Art Amateur, Vol. 21, no. 3, (August, 1889), p. 621.
- 96 Montague Marks, "My Note Book," The Art Amateur, Vol. 21, no. 4, (September, 1889), p. 66. We are told that Millet originally sold the picture for five-hundred francs.

- 97 Just how and why the painting returned to France, we were not able to find out.
- 98 William Ordway Partridge, Art for America, (Boston, 1894), p. 101.
- 99 Cook, Vol. I, p. 238-246.
- 100 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 248.
- 101 Viardot-Armstrong, Vol. I, p. 45. Emphasis added.
- 102 Stranshan, p. xviii.
- 103 Camille Pissarro, Letters to His Son Lucien, ed. by John Rewald, trans. by Lionel Abel, (New York, 1943), p. 72. Referred to hereafter simply as "Pissarro, Letters."
- 104 Horace Townsend, "The Painter's Art in England," The Chautauquan, Vol. 20, no. 3, (December, 1894), p. 263.
- 105 John C. Van Dyke, A Text-Book on the History of Painting, (New York, 1904), pp. 160-61. The book was first published in 1894. Van Dyke was a Professor of the History of Art at Rutgers College.
- 106 Rewald, Post-Impressionism, pp. 15-16.
- 107 Ibid., p. 16.
- 108 Ibid., pp. 63-64.
- 109 Ibid., p. 363.
- 110 Cook, Vol. I, p. 253.
- 111 Van Dyke, pp. 159-60.
- 112 Viardot-Armstrong, Vol. I, p. 69
- 113 For a list of the more significant modern painters whose paintings were displayed over the years at the Interstate Industrial Exposition, cf. the appendix IV.
- 114 Viardot-Armstrong, Vol. I, p. 79. Cook gives us the interesting background of the sale of this picture, Horse Fair: "After its exhibition in the Salon, it was sold to Messrs. Gambart & Co. of London, and exhibited in that city and in Manchester in 1856. It was purchased in 1857 by our countryman, Mr. W.P. Wright of Weehawken, New Jersey, and was exhibited in New York in October of that year. Mr. Stewart bought it of Mr. Wright, and at his death it was sold to Mr. Cornelius Vanderbilt for the sum of \$53,000." Rosa Bonheur actually painted a second Horse Fair for the British National Gallery. Vanderbilt gave his painting to the Metropolitan Museum. Cf. Cook, Vol. I, p. 275ff.

115 Rewald, History, p. 220. Monet thought Bonheur little better than Couture, cf. ibid., p. 41.

116 Ibid., p. 256.

117 Van Dyke, p. 160.

118 Reverend J. L. Corning, "What Women Has Done in Art for One Thousand Years," The Chautauquan, Vol. 2, no. 1, (October, 1881), p. 32. Reverend Corning originally gave this piece as a lecture at Chautauqua on August 19th of the same year. According to The Chautauquan, five-thousand people were in attendance.

119 Ibid.

120 Montague Marks, "My Note Book," The Art Amateur, Vol. 11, no. 2, (July, 1884), p. 28.

121 Henry Bacon, "Rosa Bonheur," The Century, Vol. 28, no. 6, (October, 1884), pp. 833-40.

122 Josephine Redding [?], "Miscellany: Modern Schools of Art," The Art Interchange, Vol. 25, no. 21, (July 19, 1890), p. 42.

123 J. M. Bowles, "Some Impressions of Art at the Fair," Modern Art, Vol. 1, no. 4, (October, 1893), no pagination given.

124 Rewald, History, p. 250. Italics added. This Armand Silvestre is, of course, the Armand Silvestre responsible for the large quarto volumes of The Gallery of Contemporary Art cited so often above.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

1 Cecilia Waern, "Notes on French Impressionism," Atlantic Monthly, Vol. LXVIII, (April, 1892), p. 535.

2 Clarence Cook, "Some Present Aspects of Art in America," The Chautauquan, Vol. 23, no. 5 (August, 1896), p. 596 and 598.

3 Russell Lynes, The Tastemakers, (New York, 1949), p. 97. Cf. especially Lynes' chapter seven, "Packaged Taste." There are several interesting articles from the period: Anon., "Present Tendencies of American Art," Harper's New Monthly Magazine, Vol. 58, no. 346, (March, 1879) and also anon. "Fifty Years of American Art," Parts I, II, and III, 1828-78, Vol. 59, no. 353.

4 Lynes, ibid. This would, of course, be one of the reasons why the art journals of the times felt an almost sacred obligation to devote whole sections of their magazines to household and the applied decorative arts--Montague Marks' Art Amateur being a case in point.

5 Ibid., p. 112.

6 Ibid.

7 Appleton's Journal as quoted in Lynes, p. 113.

8 Ibid., 113.

9 William Webster Ellsworth, A Golden Age of Authors, (New York, 1919), pp. 111-112. Also quoted in Lynes and in John A. Kouwenhoven's Made in America, (New York, 1948), p. 111. Richard Watson Gilder was the distinguished editor of Scribner's Monthly under Ellsworth.

10 Kouwenhoven, p. 111. The first large exposition of Japanese art was shown at the Centennial exposition in 1876. Cf. Albert Ten Eyck Gardner, Winslow Homer, American Artist: His World and His Work, (New York, 1961), p. 95.

11 Lynes, p. 147.

12 Jacques Hermant, "L'Art a L'Exposition de Chicago," Part III, in Gazette des Beaux Arts, Vol. 10, no. 30, (1893), p. 452.

13 This will be proved at some length in separate essays to be published later on the work of Sara Tyson Hallowell and the Loan Collection, as well as in essays treating of the collecting of impressionism in various midwestern cities, Cleveland and Louisville being examples. As far as we have been able to determine,

Detroit had no shows of French impressionist art prior to 1900. The author was not able to visit Toledo or St. Louis. Pittsburgh, however, we shall see later, p. 113. Kouwenhoven would exonerate the architecture of the World's Fair on the score that Americans had never seen buildings so harmonized, so beautifully correlated with the abundance of detail as in the White City. "It was this overall planning, this total effect which made the borrowed academic style so impressive to the thousands who visited the fair," Kouwenhoven, p. 94-95.

14 Kouwenhoven, p. 148.

15 At this point one is tempted to state a hypothesis that the east coast cities (and New York in particular), were far in advance of the midwestern cities in the collecting and exhibiting of art--especially modern art. A close study of some dozen critical art and literary journals of the eighties and nineties yielded very little satisfactory evidence upon which to build such an hypothesis. Furthermore, evidence to sustain such a thesis one way or another would demand a lifetime of research. Unfortunately, very few really critical cultural historical studies have been written of this period from the American scene. The author feels that whatever generalizations regarding the actual or "supposed" cultural advance of one section of the country over another made in the course of this study are justifiable. Needless to say, the author's generalizations are founded or based in the opinions of the art critics of the period under study.

16 Ripley Hitchcock, "The Western Art Movement," The Chautauquan, Vol. 22, no. 4, (August, 1886), p. 587.

17 Montague Marks, "My Notebook," The Art Amateur, Vol. 18, no. 6, (May, 1888), p. 128. Contrary to what a good number of modern critics of the nineties have written, Marks' attitude towards the midwest is fairly typical of the openness and fairness with which the eastern publicists were willing to accept the cultural tendencies and achievements of Chicago and the midwest.

18 Alfred Trumble, "The Art Boom in the West," The Collector, Vol. 1, no. 18, (Sept. 1, 1890), p. 152.

19 Cf. The Collector, vol. 3, no. 5, (Jan. 1, 1892), p. 76.

20 Trumble, "The Art Boom in the West," ibid. Yerkes eventually moved from Chicago to New York taking his art collecting habits and collection with him. In view of this fact, this statement of Trumble's loses something of its force. Yerkes had a fine collection, but there is little to indicate that he was being very original in collecting the kind of painting he did.

21 Alfred Trumble, "Picture Sellers and Picture Buyers," The Collector, Vol. 2, no. 1, (Nov. 1, 1890), p. 23.

22 Alfred Trumble, in an article entitled "Claude Monet," The Collector, Vol. 2, no. 8, (Feb. 15, 1891), p. 92. Trumble also added the information that Mr. W.H. Brearley, the proprietor of the Detroit Journal began an art loan exhibition. Brearley began his patronage of art as early as 1883 when he was manager of the

Advertising Department of the Detroit Evening News. Brearley, too, was responsible for the Detroit Art Loan Exhibition of 1883, out of which grew the first Art Museum. For this first important Detroit show, there was a gallery of twenty-six rooms which were eventually filled with 4,801 works of art, (987 oils, 206 water colors, 126 sculptures, 343 prints and other objects). Most of these art loans were borrowed from the private collections of Detroit collectors, from living artists, (Gari Melchers), dealers in Boston and Philadelphia while even the Century Magazine lent a group of black-and-white illustrations and a group of Cleveland collectors contributed a gallery of paintings. This first exhibition was a great success with 134,924 people visiting it during the ten weeks it lasted. All expenses were met and enough money was left over to buy a painting selected by popular vote. The choice fell on Reading the Story of Oenone by the American "academician" Frank D. Millet, which cost \$2500.

While the art loan show of 1883 was still in the air, another Detroiter, Senator Thomas W. Palmer of Michigan, wrote to the committee Brearley had gathered about him, offering \$10,000 if any additional money totaling \$40,000 could be raised. Brearley proceeded to raise the necessary money from forty donors. Thus it was that the Detroit Museum of Art was incorporated on March 25, 1885. Brearley then raised another \$60,000 necessary for a museum and a site on the corner of Hastings and Jefferson Avenue was chosen. (Cf. E.P. Richardson, (ed.) Treasures From the Detroit Institute of Arts (Detroit, 1960) especially the foreword.)

As indicated above in note 13, we could find little trace of anything resembling an impressionist show or shows in Detroit during the eighties or nineties. "Modern art" for the Detroit collectors, for the most part, meant the art of such painters as, Bonheur, Breton, Corot, Courbet, Daubigny, Diaz, Dupre, Millet, Rousseau, Jongkind, Harpignies, Bracquemond, Alfred Stevens and the American impressionists, Hassam and Theodore Robinson. James McMillan contributed to most of the shows during the period, but nowhere did we find that he collected French impressionism, or if he did he kept the paintings well under wraps. Cf. Appendix III, for chronological study of Detroit Art Museum catalogues of the eighties and nineties.

23 Theodore Flood, "The Art Outlook," The Chautauquan, Vol. 12, no. 6, (March, 1891), p. 792.

24 C.M. Fairbanks, "New York as an Art Center," The Chautauquan, Vol. 13, no. 3, (June, 1891), p. 331.

25 According to Pissarro, Durand-Ruel was not the only foreign art dealer in America. Already in 1893, there was an American dealer who, with 120 paintings of Claude Monet, was giving Durand-Ruel competition in his seeming monopoly of impressionist paintings. Cf. Camille Pissarro, Letters to His Son Lucien, (New York, 1943), edited by John Rewald and translated by Lionel Abel, p. 214. The letter to Lucien Pissarro is dated, Sept. 15, 1893.

26 Pissarro, Letters, pp. 214-215.

27 Who is Miss "Holloway?" The author is tantalized by the thought that it is none other than Miss Sara Hallowell, a very dear friend of Mary Cassatt's and a remarkable private art agent.

28 William Merritt Chase, originally from Indiana, studied art in Munich and in Paris. His painting showed the influence of both schools. In the nineties, he was one of the most popular American art teachers in his New York studio. In the summer months Chase retreated to the sand dunes and heather of the south shore of Long Island, the Shinnecock hills. Cf. John Gilmer Speed's, "An Artist's Summer Vacation," Harper's Monthly, Vol. 87, no. 517, (June, 1893), pp. 3-14. For recent periodical material on Chase, cf. M.-L. D'Otrange-Mastai, "Landscape of the South Fork, I," The Connoisseur, Vol. 153, no. 618, (August, 1963), pp. 281-284, as well as the article by D'Otrange-Mastai entitled, "William Merritt Chase, (1849-1916), A Retrospective Exhibition," The Connoisseur, Vol. 139, no. 562, (June, 1957), pp. 266-70. Wilbur D. Peat considers Chase's Indiana background and painting in his Pioneer Painters of Indiana, (Indianapolis, 1954), pp. 40, 81, 167, 177-79, 185, 205, 207, 227. Chase, along with James F. Sutton of New York, organized the first American impressionist show in New York in 1886. The story of this show is told in Huth's "Impressionism Comes to America," Gazette des Beaux Arts, Vol. 29, Ser. 6, (Jan. 1946), pp. 225-252. Chase has been the subject of a rather interesting but, from a historical point of view, rather worthless book by Katherine Roof, The Life and Art of William Merritt Chase, (New York, 1917).

29 Pissarro, pp. 249-50.

30 Pissarro had little regard for Raffaelli as a painter following impressionist principles.

31 Raffaelli seems to have exhibited in this country (at least with any quantity of painting) as early as 1886. At least we can conclude this from Raffaelli's own remarks at a lecture the artist gave during his one-man show in New York in April of 1895. In the foreword to the catalogue for this show Raffaelli wrote: "I recall today the time--it is nearly ten years since--when my good friend Theodore Child came to Asnieres with Mr. Robertson of the American Art Association, ...to talk over the plans for an exhibition of my works in New York." This catalogue can be found in The Art Institute of Chicago's Catalogue of Exhibits Collection. The Catalogue for the Chicago Raffaelli show of 1895 simply reproduced Raffaelli's foreword from the New York show since the New York show opened in February of 1895 while the Chicago show opened in April, 1895. Cf. pp. 16-17 of the foreword. Raffaelli came in person to America in 1894: "It was in the year 1894, five years ago, that I first came to America," cf. Art Institute Catalogue of Exhibits, under the date Jan. 10, 1900. It is to this last-mentioned trip of Raffaelli's in 1894 that Pissarro is referring in his letter to his son Lucien.

Whatever Raffaelli's status as a painter of rank in France was, there is little doubt as to what American critics thought of him and his work. By 1893, too, Mr. Potter Palmer had at least eight paintings of Raffaelli in his collection and Walter Oranston Larned was writing articles about these paintings in the Chicago Inter-Ocean, (cf. The Art Institute Scrapbook, Vol. V, (Mar. 1891-Aug. 1894) under the date of 1893. A perusal of this Scrapbook at the Chicago Art Institute will yield more opinion from the newspaper critics of Chicago, especially from the Chicago Times-Herald and Tribune.

The American art journals began their criticism of Raffaelli early. Montague Marks was writing of the Parisian Raffaelli show in June of 1884. Marks did not originally have the high opinion of Raffaelli he came to have some ten years later. He wrote in 1884: "Generally speaking, M. Raffaelli strikes you as being incomplete and wanting in probity, faults which he has in common with other impressionists...." (The Art Amateur, Vol. 11, no. 1, (June, 1884), p. 12). But in 1894 Marks had no hesitation ranking him with Pissarro, if not above. Speaking of the French critic Geffroy's estimate of Pissarro he writes: "Pissarro...M. Geffroy seems to us to overrate a little, as he assuredly underrates Raffaelli. Raffaelli has shown he can paint broadly, but for our part we prefer those paintings of his which are most like drawings," (Marks in Art Amateur, Vol. 30, no. 4, (March, 1894), p. 99. This last statement of Marks, about his preferring the paintings of Raffaelli that "are most like drawings," is indicative of the taste of the period regarding impressionism. It is the author's contention that American collectors, influenced by such ideas as those of Marks expressed here, felt that they had to buy "modern art" of the period that had both impressionist technique and academic technique apparent in their work.

Be that as it may, Raffaelli's first one-man show in the Avenue de l'Opera in Paris in 1884 remained in many a critic's memory. At least the reactionary critic, Alfred Trumble never forgot the show: "He [Raffaelli], was an impressionist of the good type, that is to say a naturalist or realist, but he went to none of the crazy extremes which the group with which he was affiliated permitted to itself." Yes, thought Trumble, Raffaelli was a veritable "Balzac of the brush," "--this pictorial chronicler of the ragpicker, the absinthe sot, the dog vendor, the old clown, the thief...." For Trumble, Raffaelli had such "mastery of color," and his touch was "vivid, tender, harmonious...." (Alfred Trumble, The Collector, Vol. 4, no. 6, (Jan. 15, 1893), p. 85 and 86. Needless to say, because of his own limited approach to art, Trumble's opinion of Raffaelli never changed.

The editors of The Critic noticed Raffaelli's writing on art as early as 1881, (cf. anon. "The Fine Arts," The Critic, Vol. 1, no. 9, (May 7, 1881), p. 126.) And in April of 1893, The Critic's Chicago correspondent was expressing her ideas on Raffaelli's works exhibited in the World's Fair: "Yet Raffaelli achieves beauty, too in his way--beauty of sentiment in The Grandfather, of line and composition in Horses on the Road, etc...." Cf. Lucy Monroe, "Chicago Letter," The Critic, Vol. 19, no. 590, (June 10, 1893), p. 391.

An anonymous article in The Art Interchange for 1892 specifically on the impressionists, classifies Dauphin, Montenard, Boudin, Chenu, Forain, Laugée and others as impressionists. He adds: "Along with these are generally reckoned a number of good painters whose only claim to be ranked as impressionists is that they render with great vigor and truthfulness, scenes from contemporary daily life." Such a one, believes the critic, is Raffaelli. Nevertheless, Raffaelli is on the debatable line. "The design is still loose and inelegant and the color applied with a vigorous touch, but a certain definiteness of form and much reasonableness of brushwork are evident," (Anon., "The Impressionists," The Art Interchange, Vol. 29, no. 1, (July, 1892), p. 6 and 7).

In 1895, the Midwest-turned-Eastern art journal, Modern Art, featured an essay on Raffaelli by the American artist, Philip Hale. Though Hale himself had studied in France, and most probably knew Monet personally, (cf. the Hale papers and Hale's correspondence with Theodore Butler who married Monet's daughters, in the Archives of American Art in Detroit,) he seems to have been quite

academic in his own art, and although popular at the time as was William Merritt Chase, as a teacher, his art remained on a mediocre level. So it is not, then, unusual that Hale in his article in Modern Art should admire the "academic" in Raffaelli's art and shy away from his "worn, scrappy method of applying material." Even Raffaelli, for Hale, was a bit too much: "He sees nature with his own eyes, records it with his own hand. The result is not perfect," (Philip Hale, "On Certain Pictures By Raffaelli," Modern Art, Vol. 3, no. 2, (Spring 1895), pp. 36-45.

Summing up then, the attitudes of these four critics, Marks, Truable, the anonymous writer from The Art Interchange, and Philip Leslie Hale, we might say that they, and the American collectors and public they influenced, liked Raffaelli for precisely what Pissarro disliked him for, namely, his compromise with the principles of the impressionists, and his applying both academic technique and subject matter, as well as dabbling in the thick, rich impasto of the kind that Monet, Pissarro and Sisley thought should be used throughout one's work.

32 Pissarro, Letters, p. 292.

33 For the most part we are following here Russell Lynes' treatment of the Central Art Association given in The Tastemakers, pp. 151 ff. The quotations from the art journals of the times are our own, and are intended to modify or elaborate Lynes' remarks.

34 Lynes, p. 151.

35 Taft was a Chicago sculptor who had worked on statues for the Agricultural Building of the World's Fair, (cf. Lynes, p. 152). His sister, Zulime Taft, married Hamlin Garland. Garland in his A Daughter of the Middle Border, (New York, 1921), p. 1ff. gives a brief sketch of literary and artistic Chicago of the late nineties. In this first show of the Central Art Association in Taft's studio, the Indianapolis artists, Forsyth and T.C. Steele, (the "Midwest's impressionist,") showed several paintings. (Cf. The Critic, Vol. 23, no. 690, (May 11, 1895), p. 351.) This last reference informs us that there were in 1895 already seventy clubs, members of the Central Art Association, in Kansas, Cleveland, St. Louis, and Cincinnati. The first officers were: President, Hamlin Garland, Vice-President, Lorado Taft, (along with Miss Josephine Locke), Secretary, Mrs. T. Vernetta Morse, and Treasurer, Mr. Franklin Read, all of Chicago.

36 Lynes, p. 152.

37 John Rewald, the outstanding historian of impressionism, says of Garland's first chapter of Crumbling Idols (Chicago-Cambridge, 1894), that in that short essay the author presents "what is probably the first all-out defense of the movement [Impressionism], to be written in English...." Cf. Rewald, The History of Impressionism, p. 447.

38 Lynes, loc. cit.

39 The Critic, Vol. 22, no. 671, (Dec. 29, 1894), p. 449. Harriet Monroe was the Chicago architect, John Wellborn Root's "adulating sister." She claimed that had her brother not died during the first conference of the World's Fair

board, the White City of the Fair would not have been dominated by the eastern architects. Cf. John Burchard and Albert Bush-Brown, The Architecture of America, A Social and Cultural History (Boston, 1961), p. 253.

40 Monroe, loc. cit., p. 450.

41 Montague Marks, "Editorial," The Art Amateur, Vol. 35, no. 1, (June, 1896), p. 3. Benson, Tarbell and Robinson were part of the group of American "impressionists." Robinson, a good friend of Will H. Low, studied with Monet at Giverny, (cf. Low, pp. 283ff. and on the American Impressionists, cf. John I.H. Baur, Leaders of American Impressionism, (New York, 1937) and ibid. Theodore Robinson, 1852-1896 (New York, 1946). Around the turn of the century, Robinson was still thought of as an American impressionist. Of his style Hartmann wrote: "He painted merely in prismatic colour strokes varying in size according to the subject. ...He spent the years 1884-1888 with Monet at Giverny, and then returned to this country, devoting himself to the Delaware and the Hudson river canal scenery." Hartmann, A History of American Art, Vol. I, p. 103. As is probably well known, Robinson has come in for a good deal of re-evaluation recently. In February, 1963, Florence Lewison claimed that "he never actually studied with Monet, ..." and his real contribution lies in the "progressive direction he established for men like J. Alden Weir, John Twachtman, Childe Hassam, and others who followed him." Cf. Florence Lewison, "Theodore Robinson, America's First Impressionist," American Artist, Vol. 27, no. 2, (Feb. 1963), pp. 40ff.

The reason for Robinson's being considered by some a disciple of Monet and not quite a disciple by others, is that he was, as Will Low pointed out, an extremely independent and quiet person. Furthermore, he would never be tied down to one place long enough to be really considered a student of a given artist. In this he was very much like the master he admired so much, Claude Monet. Robinson's journals are accessible, and as Mrs. Lewison shows in her article, he differed with some of Monet's aesthetic or stylistic principles.

In the last few years much new material and interest have developed around the subject of the American impressionists, the influence on them by the French impressionists, and the American "colony" of artists who lived in and near Giverny, (Monet's home). Garnett McCoy, the archivist at The Archives of American Art in Detroit, brought to my attention a collection of some fifty or so letters in the Philip Leslie Hale Collection at the Archives, of another American expatriate painter, Theodore E. Butler. Butler was really quite an intimate with Monet from the years 1892 to 1918. The letters in the Archives cover this period and tell of Butler's successive marriages to two of Monet's daughters (by his second wife) and many other details of the Monet household of which he was a member and most welcome son. The letters have the further attraction of being illustrated here and there with amusing sketches and a refreshingly frank manner of Butler's use of slang to chide Hale now and then for his academic painting. Nor do Butler's paintings suffer when compared with those of Robinson. There is much left to be done on the subject of American impressionism.

A propos of the other two American impressionists mentioned, Benson and Tarbell, as well as the whole "movement" of American impressionism, Hartmann's words written in 1901 should be pondered: "Alden Weir and the Tarbellites also belong to the Society of the Ten American Painters (organized in January, 1898), which has made the vain attempt to divide Manhattan art into three factions. They have

been unsuccessful, because they have no particular aim, except that of exhibiting independently of juries once a year...." Hartmann then lists the members of this group, not mentioning Theodore Robinson. "The members are Dewing, Tarrbell, Benson, De Camp, Weir, Twachtman, Metcalf, Simmons, Childe Hassam and Reid," (cf. Hartmann, A History, Vol. 2, pp. 247-48).

Finally it might be of interest to note also that from March 22 to April 23 of 1960, the Charles Slatkin galleries in New York held a retrospective exhibit entitled, Claude Monet and the Giverny Artists. The Catalogue contained a valuable introduction and short biographies of the following American expatriates who "studied" under Monet: Theodore Robinson, Theodore E. Butler, James Butler, (his son), William H. Hart, John L. Breck, and Blanche Hoschede-Monet, Theodore Butler's wife and quite a good "impressionist" in her own right.

42 Gardner C. Teall, "Chicago Notes," The Art Interchange, Vol. 42, no. 3, (Mar. 1899), p. 62.

43 Charles Francis Browne, "A Chicago Renaissance," Brush and Pencil, Vol. 1, no. 6, (March, 1898), pp. 185ff.

44 Ida M. Condit, "Art Conditions in Chicago and Other Western Cities," Brush and Pencil, Vol. 4, no. 1, (April, 1899), p. 7.

45 Ibid., p. 8.

46 A.B. Pond, "The Relation of Art to Public Welfare," Brush and Pencil, Vol. 4, no. 2, (May, 1899), p. 99.

47 For a list of these artists, cf. Appendix I. Surely to the list of some thirty odd artists who did show with the first impressionists, the name of Mary Cassatt should be added. As indicated early in the thesis, it would have been both interesting and fruitful to have made an attempt to find out to what extent the "followers" of the impressionists determined American taste for the "major" impressionists. A list of the "followers" of the impressionists can be found in the Notes to Chapter One, note 34.

48 Sargent, we can quite easily classify as a "follower" of the impressionists. But really, that will not do. The greater part of his work during his lifetime was certainly of an academically classical nature, viz. such things as his numerous portraits. And yet even in portraiture, Sargent, as our reproduction of Charles Deering (in the text) shows, let himself be carried away or better perhaps, carried back to the impressionist technique he learned during his summers with Monet as a young man. Whenever such a "follower" of the impressionists such as Sargent is mentioned in this chapter, we have made an attempt to introduce illustrations of the artist's work. Thus indirectly the paintings of these artists will lend support to the comments of the critics of the nineties on their work and the two together--reproductions and criticism--should give a clearer notion of how and why American taste for modern art and impressionism developed the way it did.

Was Sargent an impressionist pure and simple? Certainly not. His biographer, Charles Merrill Mount, has a good deal to say about Sargent's interest in impressionism. "Sargent later declared that at first sight of Monet's pictures

he was 'bowled over.' He had never before seen such a throbbing sense of life as impressionism gave to paintings, and this fascination became more pronounced as he grew older. In the early years of their friendship he was content to learn from Monet as much of the impressionist practice as he could, though it was Carolus-Duran, and his approach, that was still and would ever be, the underlying structure of his work." (p. 44)

Did Sargent in his early years apply this technique of Monet? Mount again explains: "After Sargent's first Salon [1877], he went off to the Brittany coast with another American student, Eugene Lachaise, for the summer. They settled down at Cancale, attempting to make use of the principles learned from Monet, painting directly on the beach to make studies of the fisherfolk who passed over the wet sands gathering mussels at low tide," (pp. 47-48).

What did Sargent think of himself as an artist? To one of his women-friends, Vernon Lee, he did express himself on this subject. He was in the custom of viewing various art shows with her. "When the Salon opened he once again did his duty of escorting her, and in the course of their conversation, which under her guidance frequently took a theoretic turn that he found uncomfortable, he described himself as an impressionist, entirely given up to the faith reproduction of 'les valeurs.'" And Mount concludes: "It is a different attitude toward impressionism that we now have, but more akin to the aims of those practicing the art at that time, and it was as far as he would go with her/Vernon Lee/, toward theory." Cf. further material on the subject in Charles Merrill Mount, *John Singer Sargent*, (New York, 1955), p. 65 (just quoted), pp. 102-106, 117, 119-20, 148 (especially), and 153. The author does not agree with Mount's last statement that Sargent's impressionism was "more akin to the aims of those practicing the art at that time." A more comprehensive bibliography of Sargent and works on him can be found in Mount's study.

49 Anon., "The Fine Arts," *The Critic*, Vol. 2, no. 47, (Oct. 21, 1882), p. 286.

50 Roger Riordan, "A French Artist on French Art," *The Art Amateur*, Vol. 13, no. 6, (Nov. 1885), p. 115.

51 Rewald, *A History of Impressionism*, p. 377. Durand-Ruel had already had two impressionist shows in London during the year 1872, two full years before the first French show! Cf. Rewald, *op. cit.* p. 226.

52 Theodore Child, "The King of the Impressionists," *The Art Amateur*, Vol. 14, no. 5, (April, 1886), p. 101.

53 For a brief discussion of the author's own classification cf. the Notes to Chapter One, note 34.

54 Child, *ibid.*, p. 101.

55 *Ibid.*, p. 102. In the face of the overwhelmingly negative criticism of both the French press and art journals of the time, Theodore Child's openness and lack of bias is remarkable. His brief aesthetic analysis of impressionism has striking similarities to that of Meyer Schapiro's in his lecture, "Impressionism, Aesthetic and Methodology," The Patton Lectures, University of Indiana,

Spring, 1961. For such a brief attempt at criticism, Child was very much up-to-date!

56 "Art Notes," The Critic, Vol. 5, no. 115, (Mar. 13, 1886), p. 133.

57 The editors of The Critic were Jeanette and Joseph Gilder. On the Gilders, cf. chapter one of the thesis, p. 8.

58 "The Fine Arts," The Critic, Vol. 5, no. 120, (April 17, 1886), p. 195.

59 "Editorial," The Critic, Vol. 5, no. 126, (May 29, 1886), p. 275.

60 "The Impressionist Exhibition," The Art Amateur, Vol. 14, no. 6, (May, 1886), p. 121. The article was unsigned, but from the tone of it we suppose it was written by the editor, Montague Marks.

61 Cf. Rewald, The History of Impressionism, p. 281. John Lewis Brown, the native French artist with the English name, and Gustave Caillebotte, engineer-specialist in ship construction and owner of several yachts, were both artists. Caillebotte, one of the first collectors of impressionism, exhibited his own works in five of their shows. Brown, more of a "follower" exhibited in none.

62 "The Impressionist Exhibition," The Art Amateur, Vol. 14, no. 6, (May, 1886), p. 121.

63 Rewald, The History of Impressionism, pp. 281 and 286. "Only Renoir was able occasionally to sell some pictures, partly because he painted besides landscapes also portraits and nudes, partly because his works had a pleasing character, a charm which sometimes was not denied even by those who objected to impressionism in general."

64 The story of Paul Durand-Ruel, his gallery and his sons' work in the impressionist cause can be gathered from various sources. Rewald's History of Impressionism is best, but should be supplemented by Lionello Venturi's, Les Archives de L'Impressionisme, (Letters of Renoir, Monet, Pissarro, Sisley and others, plus the memoirs of M. Paul Durand-Ruel as well as an introduction by Venturi), in 2 vols. (Paris-New York, 1939). Huth's article in Gazette des Beaux Arts mentioned several times above (especially chapter one, note 12), contains a brief evaluation of Durand-Ruel's work. Jean Renoir has recently offered his own father's casual estimate of this truly great art dealer of all times, (cf. Jean Renoir, Renoir, My Father), *passim*.

65 "The Fine Arts," The Critic, Vol. 6, no. 148, (Oct. 30, 1886), p. 213.

66 "The Fine Arts," The Critic, Vol. 6, no. 149, (Nov. 6, 1886), p. 223. We suppose that most of the articles entitled "The Fine Arts," were written by the editors of the Critic.

67 "The Fine Arts," The Critic, Vol. 6, no. 174, (April 30, 1887), p. 219. The "others," are Degas, Monet, Renoir, Boudin, Desboutin etc. These same paintings eventually traveled to the American Academy of Design for another show that

Spring.

68 This tariff was a real obstacle. The Gilders in The Critic devoted an article to it in their June issue, 1884. The gist of the problem was that under the tariff of 1846, all foreign works of art were admitted duty-free. Then in 1861 a protective tariff imposed an ad valorem duty of ten per cent on works of art. The tariff of 1883 boosted the duty to thirty per cent on art works of foreigners, but left American paintings duty-free. On March 3, 1886, James F. Sutton sidestepped the tariff by introducing Durand-Ruel's paintings at customs as educational material. According to Huth, there were forty-three cases with about three-hundred pictures valued at \$81,799. The following brief list will give some idea of the distribution of painting of the impressionists that Durand-Ruel took to America.

23 Degas	38 Renoir	Boudin
17 Manet	3 Seurat	Caillebotte
18 Monet	15 Sisley	Forain
42 Pissarro		Cassatt
		Guillaumin
		Morisot

On the tariff issue cf. the following articles:

- J.L. and J.B. Gilder, "The Duty on Works of Art," The Critic, Vol. 1, no. 23, (June 7, 1884), p. 256
- The Critic, Vol. 5, no. 113, (Feb. 27, 1886), p. 109.
- The Critic, Vol. 6, no. 174, (April 30, 1887), p. 219.
- The Critic, Vol. 9, no. 226, (April 28, 1888), p. 210.

69 "The Fine Arts," The Critic, Vol. 6, no. 178, (May 28, 1886); we will not include the material from The Critic's appraisal. The anonymity of the review renders the criticism less valuable.

70 Montague Marks, "My Note Book," The Art Amateur, Vol. 17, no.1, (June, 1887), p. 2. At this time Marks was still signing his articles with his pername of "Montezuma."

71 Mrs. Josephine Redding, (ed.), "Art Notes," The Art Interchange, Vol. 18, no. 12, (June 4, 1887), p. 177. According to Mrs. Redding, this exhibit at the American Academy of Design opened May 25th and closed on June 30th.

72 Most probably Manet's Execution of Maximillian shown in 1879 when the French singer, Mme. Emilie Ambre was on a concert tour of the United States and in whose possession this canvas was. Mme. Ambre had planned a Chicago trip which was called off. Cf. Rewald, A History of Impressionism, p. 336.

73 Anon., "French Paintings at the Academy," The Art Amateur, Vol. 17, no. 2, (July, 1887), p. 32.

74 For a consideration of these men as "followers" of the impressionists, cf. chapter one, note 34.

- 75 Theodore Child, "Art Notes from Paris," The Art Amateur, Vol. 17, no. 2, (July, 1887), p. 32.
- 76 Josephine Redding, "Art Notes," The Art Interchange, Vol. 20, no. 1, (Dec. 31, 1887), p. 5.
- 77 We have not been able to discover just who "Greta" was.
- 78 For the artists from America living and studying with Monet at Giverny cf. above, especially, chapter three, note 41.
- 79 "Greta," "Boston Art and Artists," The Art Amateur, Vol. 17, no. 5, (Oct. 1887), p. 93.
- 80 Montague Marks, "My Note Book," The Art Amateur, Vol. 18, no. 5, (April, 1888), p. 105.
- 81 On Roll as an impressionist "follower," cf. above, chapter one, note 34.
- 82 On Bastien-LePage as an impressionist "follower," cf. above, chapter one, note 34. LePage, who was extremely popular in America, was nearly always lumped in with the impressionists by American critics and writers. In the author's opinion, LePage and Casin were the two most responsible European artists, responsible that is, for the growth of taste and interest on the part of American collectors in impressionism. This was so, because their style, mediated or was "half-way-between" that of Monet and the strict Academicism of a Bouguereau.
- 83 On Puvis de Chavannes as a "follower" of the impressionists, cf. above, chapter one, note 34. Also cf. the fine article on Puvis by Robert Goldwater, "Puvis de Chavannes, Some Reasons for a Reputation," The Art Bulletin, Vol. 28, no. 1, (March, 1946), pp. 33-43.
- 84 Theodore Child, "The Paris Centennial Exposition," The Art Amateur, Vol. 21, no. 2, (July, 1889), p. 28. At this moment in the development of Child's critical opinion, the great lights of modern French art were: Meissonier, Bonnat, Bouguereau, Carolus-Duran, Cabanel, Lefebvre, Gervex, Detaille, and Constant. All these artists have in common is that they were strictly Academician, with tightly drawn works, smooth in facture and highly varnished. Though not completely closed to the new impressionist aesthetic, (as we shall see below), Child nevertheless felt that the Academicians were really the only secure artists, and that impressionism was just a "fad." We must be honest, however, and admit that today it is quite difficult at times to understand such critics as Child, with their vacillation between their like and dislike of the impressionist artists. Nevertheless, they were intellectually honest, (which is more than can be said for some of the French critics), and never attempted to hide this vacillation from their reading public.
- 85 Anon., "The Works of Rodin and Monet," The Art Interchange, Vol. 23, no. 4, (Aug. 17, 1889), p. 49.
- 86 Emphasis added.

- 87 Theodore Child, "Two Notable French Artists," The Art Amateur, Vol. 21, no. 4, (Sept. 1889), p. 167. Cf. also the article by the same author, "American Artists at the Paris Exposition," Harper's, (Sept., 1889).
- 88 "Impressionists and Imitators," The Collector, Vol. 1, no. 2, (Nov. 15, 1889), p. 11. The Collector's colorful epithet-maker and editor, Alfred Trumble, does not seem to have been the author of this article. At this point, Trumble was about as "down" on the impressionists as any American critic could be.
- 89 Alfred Trumble, "Picture Sellers and Picture Buyers," The Collector, Vol. 2, no. 4, (Dec. 15, 1890), p. 44.
- 90 Alfred Trumble, "Claude Monet," The Collector, Vol. 2, no. 8, (Feb. 15, 1891), p. 91. The Metropolitan Museum of Art had its origin in the Union League Club of New York, cf. Clarence Cook, "The Metropolitan Museum of Art," The Chautauquan, Vol. 6, no. 1, (Oct., 1885), p. 20.
- 91 Unless the specific city was given after the names of the various collectors, we have assumed that they were native New Yorkers.
- 92 "The Fine Arts," The Critic, Vol. 15, no. 373, (Feb. 21, 1891), p. 101.
- 93 Montague Marks, "My Note Book," The Art Amateur, Vol. 24, no. 4, (March, 1891), p. 88.
- 94 Alfred Trumble, The Collector, Vol. 2, no. 2, (Mar. 1, 1891), p. 107.
- 95 On Fenollosa, cf. Van Wyck Brooks, Fenollosa and His Circle, (New York, 1962). Although Brooks' brilliant essay gives one all the general information on Ernest Francisco Fenollosa that one might desire, still much remains to be said of this man and the influence he was on the development of taste in America not only as regards Japanese art, but art education in general. As an indication of Fenollosa's importance, we cite but one of many articles on art education, namely his "Fine Arts," in The Elementary School Teacher, (Sept. 1904). His short obituary in The Nation when he died in 1908 is perhaps the best quick summary of his life and work: "News comes by cable that Professor Ernest Francisco Fenollosa has died just as he was to sail for this country, [he had been living in England after his return from the Orient]. Professor Fenollosa was born at Salem, Massachusetts in 1853, and was educated at Harvard. From 1878 to 1880 he occupied the chair of political economy and philosophy in the Tokio University and from 1880 to 1886 the chair of philosophy and logic. Other positions kept him in Japan until 1890, making him an authority on Japanese art and literature. From 1890 to 1896, he used this knowledge as curator of the department of Oriental art in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. His publications include, East and West and The Discovery of America and Other Poems, (1893), and An Outline History of Ukiyo-yo." (The Nation, Vol. 87, (Oct. 1, 1908), p. 315.)
- 96 "Greta," "Art in Boston," The Art Amateur, Vol. 24, no. 6, (May, 1891), p. 141.

97 The Critic, Vol. 16, no. 410, (Nov. 7, 1891), p. 255.

98 Charles M. Fairbanks, "New York as an Art Center," The Chautauquan, Vol. 13, no. 3, (June, 1891), p. 330.

99 Emphasis added.

100 Fairbanks, loc. cit. Other parts of Fairbanks' article informs us that during June also, the American impressionist, John Twachtman was also exhibiting his paintings at the Wunderlich gallery. The influence of the American impressionists on the taste of the art critics and collectors of art is definite and certain. Sometimes both French and American impressionist shows were held together and their art was considered as all part of a piece.

101 The article was from L'Art Dans Les Deux Mondes, a review published by Durand-Ruel from November of 1890 to May 1891. The review contained articles on Renoir, Monet, Pissarro, Degas, Sisley, Seurat, etc. Cf. Pissarro, Letters to His Son Lucien, p. 142, note 1.

102 Rewald, Post-Impressionism, pp. 13-14 ff.

103 T. de Wyzewa, "The Artist, Mme. Berthe Morisot," The Chautauquan, Vol. 13, no. 4, (July, 1891), p. 507.

104 Alfred Trumble, "The Rise of the Curtain," The Collector, Vol. 2, no. 19, (Oct. 1, 1891), p. 225.

105 Perhaps Trumble was used to artists, such as George Inness, appropriating to themselves the term "impressionist." That Inness thought of himself as an impressionist, is brought out very well in a letter that Inness himself wrote to a newspaper editor whose art critic had "unfortunately" classified Inness as an impressionist: "A copy of your letter has been handed to me in which I find your art editor has classified my work among the 'impressionists.' The article is certainly all that I could ask in the way of compliment. I am sorry, however, that either of my works should have been so lacking in the necessary detail that from a legitimate landscape-painter I have come to be classed as a follower of the new fad of 'Impressionism.'" Adding that Impressionism clearly entered the world of painting as a reaction to Pre-Raphaelite painting, and that both were extremes, Inness goes on to qualify how he is an impressionist: "We are all subjects of impressions, and some of us legitimates seek to convey our impressions to others. In the art of communicating impressions lies the power of generalizing without losing that logical connection of parts to the whole which satisfies the mind." (Emphasis added). Cf. George Inness Jr., Life, Art and Letters of George Inness, (New York, 1917), pp. 160 and 169.

106 Alfred Trumble, "Things of Today," The Collector, Vol. 3, no. 6, (Jan. 15, 1892), p. 86. For Homer as an impressionist, cf. previous note, (105).

107 The Critic, Vol. 17, no. 521, (Feb. 13, 1892).

108 "The Fine Arts," The Critic, Vol. 19, no. 575, (Feb. 25, 1893), p. 119.

- 109 Montague Marks, "My Note Book," The Art Amateur, Vol. 26, no. 4, (March, 1892), p. 87.
- 110 The two Englishmen, Charles Ricketts and Charles Sharnon, invited Lucien Pissarro, (then living in England) to collaborate with their review The Dial, the first issue of which had appeared in 1889. Lucien contributed to the second issue which appeared in February, 1891. Cf. Pissarro, Letters, p. 137 and 138.
- 111 Alfred Trumble, "Here and There in Collectorship," The Collector, Vol. 3 no. 10, (March 15, 1892), p. 148.
- 112 Anon., "Art Gossip," The Art Interchange, Vol. 28, no. 3, (March, 1892), p. 72.
- 113 Alfred Trumble, "For Cabinet Gallery and Bookshelf," The Collector, Vol. 3, no. 12, (April 15, 1892), p. 180.
- 114 Cecilia Waern has also eluded any identification.
- 115 Cecilia Waern, "Some Notes on French Impressionism," The Atlantic Monthly, (April, 1892), p. 535ff.
- 116 Ibid., p. 536.
- 117 Under the idea of "focus," Miss Waern pretty much sums up the outlook of the critics and writers on impressionism of the eighties and nineties. As we know quite clearly today, the revolution (at least one of its aspects) that the impressionists brought had as one of its first principles a new way of "seeing." Much could be said and written on the problem of "focus" in the painting of the nineties and in the critical appraisal of that painting by the "purveyors of taste to the people,"--the critics.
- 118 Waern, p. 541.
- 119 Alfred Trumble, The Collector, Vol. 3, no. 14, (May 15, 1892), p. 216.
- 120 Alfred Trumble, "Small Talk and Palaver," The Collector, Vol. 3, no. 16, (June 15, 1892), p. 243. Rewald calls Forsin, Raffaelli and Zandomeneghi, "young friends and indirect pupils," of Degas, (Cf. The History of Impressionism, p. 327). As friends of Degas, they were hardly ever welcomed enthusiastically by any of the impressionists. As artists the same could be said, since as far as the impressionists went, (Degas, of course, excluded and perhaps Renoir), these men compromised the very principles Monet and Pissarro had fought so for and for which most of the impressionists had suffered intensely.
- 121 Alfred Trumble, "Dust of the Dog Days," The Collector, Vol. 3, no. 17, (July 15, 1892), p. 260.
- 122 On Gustave Geffroy, cf. Rewald, The History of Impressionism, p. 416.

123 Anon., "The Impressionists," The Art Interchange, Vol. 29, no. 1, (July, 1892), pp. 1-5. Henry Bacon wrote a book on the artists of the nineties living in Paris, entitled: Parisian Art and Artists. We were not able to locate the book in any of the many libraries at our disposal.

124 Les Peintres Impressionnistes (Paris, 1878).

125 Theodore Robinson, "Claude Monet," The Century, Vol. 44, no. 5, (Sept. 1892), p. 696 ff.

126 On Robinson and the American Impressionists, cf. our note 41 of this chapter.

127 Hamlin Garland, Crumbling Idols, ed. by Jane Johnson (Cambridge, 1960--originally published in 1894), p. 103.

128 Alfred Trumble "Things Seen and Heard," The Collector, Vol. 4, no. 2, (Nov. 15, 1892), p. 18.

129 "W.H.W." "What is Impressionism," The Art Amateur, Vol. 27, no. 6, (Nov. 1892), p. 140.

130 "W.H.W." "What is Impressionism," Part II, The Art Amateur, Vol. 27, no. 7, (Dec. 1892), p. 5.

131 Roger Riordan, "From Another Point of View," The Art Amateur, Vol. 27, no. 7, (Dec. 1892), p. 5.

132 It is important to point out here that in the very "modern" Loan Exhibit of paintings collected by Sara Hallowell for the World's Fair Art Exhibit, there were paintings by Israels, Maris, and Mauve. For more material on these Dutch artists from an American critic of the nineties, cf. Clarence Cook's, Art and Artists of Our Times, in 3 vols. (New York, 1888).

133 On Theodore Ribot, cf. the above mentioned work by Cook, Vol. I, p. 192.

134 Anon., "Theodore Ribot," Modern Art, Vol. 1, no. 1, (Jan. 1893), n.p. At this point in their publishing, the editors did not see fit to introduce pagination into their journal.

135 For more on the Hoosier Impressionist, cf. above note 35, and chapter one, note 25. Born in Gosport, Indiana in 1847, Theodore C. Steele while still a young boy showed such talent in art that he was made the art teacher for the class. In his formative years he studied art in Chicago and Cincinnati, but we do not know who his teachers were. From 1865 to 1870, he did portrait painting. From 1870 to 1873, he lived in Battle Creek, Michigan. In 1873 he returned to Indiana and by 1877 seems to have had a studio in Indianapolis.

In 1880, he along with other Indianapolis artists--William Forsyth followed him in 1883--went to Munich to study the Munich school of painting. In 1885 he

returned to Indianapolis where he opened a new studio. He and William Forsyth, on the latter's return from Munich, became very active in the art associations in Indianapolis. In 1893, Steele, along with Forsyth and J.M. Bowles founded the periodical Modern Art. A brief history of this periodical can be found above in chapter one, pp. 9-10, (text). Steele died in Brown County in 1926. From the journal Steele kept throughout his life, and from a newspaper account in 1877 of his painting, as well as from his work itself on display at the John Herron Art Museum in Indianapolis, we can conclude that he was very much of an impressionist at least in his landscapes. (The author was pleasantly surprised to find several of his works hung in the student lounge at Indiana University). For a bit more complete a treatment of Steele's life cf. Wilbur D. Peat's, Pioneer Painters of Indiana, (Indianapolis, 1954), pp. 200-203, and 239. Unfortunately, Peat's book does not take the story of Indiana painters and painting much beyond 1885.

136 Theodore C. Steele, "Impressionalism," Modern Art, Vol. 1, no. 1, (Jan. 1893), essay 5, n.p.

137 And most probably wealthy American collectors and "art agents" such as Sara Hallowell.

138 The Collector, Vol. 4, no. 5, (Jan. 1, 1893), p. 76.

139 Alfred Trumble, "Art and Other Things," The Collector, Vol. 4, no. 6, (Jan. 15, 1893), p. 85.. On a consideration of Raffaelli as an impressionist, cf. above note 31.

140 Alfred Trumble, "Something for Everybody," The Collector, Vol. 4, no. 7, (Feb. 1, 1893), p. 102.

141 Trumble is thinking either of the island of St. Thomas or of Caracas. Pissarro was born on the island of St. Thomas in the Danish West Indies. Somewhere between 1847 and 1855, he ran away from home to become an artist and ended up in Caracas, Venezuela, not Brazil. Cf. Rewald, The History of Impressionism, pp. 11-12.

142 Alfred Trumble, "Notes and Novelties," The Collector, Vol. 4, no. 8, (Feb. 15, 1893), p. 128. The paintings came from the private galleries of the following collectors:

Mr. Daniel Catlin, St. Louis
 Mr. J.B. Chapman, St. Louis
 Mr. Thomas B. Clarke, New York
 Mr. Isaac Cook, St. Louis
 Mr. John T. Davis, St. Louis
 Durand-Ruel, New York
 F.L. Ridgely, St. Louis
 Mr. Reichard, New York
 Charles S. Hills, St. Louis
 W.L. Huse, St. Louis
 Charles M. Kurtz, New York

Otto Meysenburg, Chicago
H. L. Neumann, Munich
Charles Parson, St. Louis

- 143 The Collector, Vol. 4, no. 10 (March 15, 1893), p. 155.
- 144 Ibid., p. 157.
- 145 On Twachtman and Weir, cf. above, note 41.
- 146 "French and American Impressionists," The Art Amateur, Vol. 29, no. 1, (June, 1893), p. 4. Cf. Also, Modern Art, Vol. 1, no. 3, (Summer, 1893), n.p.
- 147 "The Loan Exhibition at the Fine Arts Building," The Art Amateur, Vol. 28, no. 5, (April, 1893), p. 126.
- 148 Alfred Trumble, "Impressionism and Impressions," The Collector, Vol. 4, no. 14, (May 15, 1893), p. 213.
- 149 "The Fine Arts," The Critic, Vol. 19, no. 586, (May 13, 1892), p. 318.
- 150 Rewald, The History of Impressionism, p. 358.
- 151 J.M. Bowles, "Memoranda," Modern Art, Vol. 1, no. 3, (Summer, 1893).
- 152 Montague Marks, "My Note Book," The Art Amateur, Vol. 29, no. 4, (Sept. 1893), p. 80.
- 153 Alfred Trumble, "De Omnibus Rebus," The Collector, Vol. 5, no. 4, (Dec. 15, 1893), p. 55.
- 154 Charles Mason Fairbanks, "How to Study the Fine Arts," The Chautauquan, Vol. 18, no. 3, (Dec. 1893), p. 278.
- 155 Alfred Trumble, "Things of the Time," The Collector, Vol. 5, no. 6, (Jan. 15, 1894), p. 85.
- 156 "Art Notes," The Critic, Vol. 24, no. 623, (Feb. 17, 1894), p. 116.
- 157 The majority of Hamlin Garland's papers are in the archives of the Library of the University of Southern California. A correspondence between the author of this thesis and Mr. Arvidson, archivist and curator of the Garland papers, yielded us up a sheaf of notes written by Garland in the nineties. We were, then, fortunate to be able to examine the notes of what seems to have been Garland's original essay on impressionism. We possess no absolute proof that these are the actual pages Garland held in his hands as he addressed the group of interested Chicago artists and collectors, at the home of Franklin Head, in 1893 (Lorado Taft being one of the artists present). The notes, however, do contain the ideas on impressionism that Garland developed later in his essay in Crumbling Idols, as can be seen from a comparison between the essay on Impressionism in

Crumbling Idols and the manuscript notes in the Archives of the Library of the University of Southern California. For the microfilm of these notes I am also indebted to the living descendants of Hamlin Garland in California. For an evaluation of Garland's essay in Crumbling Idols, cf. above note 37 to this chapter.

158 F. Hopkinson Smith, "Impressionists and Impressionism," The Art Institute of Chicago Catalogue of Exhibits, under the date of June 7, 1894, p. 26. The lecture, it would seem, was given on February 21, 1894. We were not able to locate any kind of reproduction of this lecture in Chicago.

159 Alfred Trumble, "The Collecting World," The Collector, Vol. 5, no. 12, (April 15, 1894), p. 182.

160 Rewald, The History of Impressionism, p. 281 and 306.

161 Ibid., p. 422.

162 Alfred Trumble, "Things that Were and Are," The Collector, Vol. 5, no. 15, (June 1, 1894), p. 229.

163 Montague Marks, "My Note Book," The Art Amateur, Vol. 31, no. 1, (June, 1894), p. 3.

164 Anon., "The Impressionists," The Art Amateur, Vol. 30, no. 4, (March, 1894), p. 99.

165 The Art Amateur, Vol. 31, no. 1, (June, 1894), p. 6.

166 Charles M. Fairbanks, "Out of Doors with the Artist," The Chautauquan, Vol. 19, no. 5, (Aug. 1894), p. 524.

167 The Art Amateur, Vol. 31, no. 5, (Oct. 1894), p. 90.

168 Henry W. Ranger, "A Basis for Criticism on Painting," The Collector, Vol. 6, no. 2, (Nov. 1, 1894), p. 26.

169 Alfred Trumble, "The Durand-Ruel Galleries," The Collector, Vol. 6, no. 3, (Dec. 1, 1894), p. 43.

170 Cf. The Art Institute Catalogue of Exhibits, under date, January 12, 1895.

171 Alfred Trumble, "Footnotes of a Fortnight," The Collector, Vol. 6, no. 6, (Jan. 15, 1895), p. 90.

172 "The Monet Exhibition," The Art Amateur, Vol. 32, no. 3, (Feb. 1895), p. 77.

173 Cf. The Art Institute Catalogue of Exhibits, p. 1, and also the notes in the Daybook and the Sales Catalogue in the office of the Registrar at the Art

Institute. We find the following remarks entered in the Daybook, Feb. 22, 1895, "...Received twenty, (six cases), oil paintings...Monet, from Durand-Ruel...." p. 1. The Show was from March 18-28th. Courtesy of Mrs. Bush, Registrar.

174 I. McDonald, "About Art and Artists," The Chicago Evening Post, (March 22, 1895), n.p. (as this reference was taken from The Art Institute Scrapbook, Vol. 6, (Sept. 1894-March 1897).

175 Lucy Monroe, "Chicago Letter," The Critic, Vol. 23, no. 685, (April 6, 1895), p. 267.

176 Montague Marks, "My Note Book," The Art Amateur, Vol. 32, no. 13, (Feb. 1895), p. 76.

177 Alfred Trumble, "The Ides of March," The Collector, Vol. 6, no. 10, (March 15, 1895), p. 159-60.

178 Cf. The Art Institute Catalogue and the Daybook and Sales Catalogue in the office of the Registrar. Here are the remarks in the Daybook entered under May 21, 1895: "Lent by Durand-Ruel; returned in July, 1895. Manet, [titles of the paintings follow as]:

1. Nana, 1878.
2. Portraite de Rochefort, 1881.
3. Portraite de Faure, 1877.
4. Christ Aux Anges, 1865.
5. Chez Le Pere Lathuille.
6. La Serre, 1879.
7. Concert Aux Tuileries, 1862.
8. Jetes de Boulogne, 1872.
9. Jardin de Manet, 1875.
10. Danseurs Espagnols, 1868.
11. Combat de Taureaux, 1868.
12. Le 14 Juillet, 1878.
13. La Bonne Pipe, 1873.
14. Torreo Saluant, 1867.
15. Enfants Aux Tuileries, 1862.

179 Cf. The Art Institute Catalogue, under date of May 29, 1895, p. 22.

180 Lucy Monroe, "Chicago Letter," The Critic, Vol. 23, no. 691, (May 18, 1895), p. 371.

181 Lucy Monroe, "Chicago Letter," The Critic, Vol. 23, no. 694, (June 8, 1895), p. 423. Cf. Manet's paintings, nos. 2,3,4,10,13 and 15 above note 178.

182 Ernest Knaufft, "Drawing for Reproduction," The Art Amateur, Vol. 32, no. 5, (April, 1895), p. 133.

183 Otto Stark, "The Evolution of Impressionism," Modern Art, Vol. 3, no. 2, (Spring, 1895), pp. 53-56.

- 180 Ibid., p. 55.
- 185 The Art Amateur, Vol. 32, no. 6, (May, 1895), p. 158. Cf. also, Modern Art, Vol. 3, no. 2, (Summer, 1895), p. 87.
- 186 Alfred Trumble, "May-Day Facts and Fancies," The Collector, Vol. 6, no. 13, (May 1, 1895), p. 208.
- 187 Alfred Trumble, "Expositions and Disquisitions," The Collector, Vol. 6, no. 20, (Oct. 1, 1895), p. 317.
- 188 Alfred Trumble, "Museum Collectors and Collections," The Collector, Vol. 7, no. 2, (Nov. 15, 1895), pp. 17-18.
- 189 "The Pittsburgh Loan Exhibition," The Art Amateur, Vol. 34, no. 1, (Dec. 1895), p. 4. A.A. Pope of Cleveland, Ohio, loaned Whistler's The Blue Wave.
- 190 Alfred Trumble, "Things of Today," The Collector, Vol. 7, no. 3, (Dec. 1, 1895), p. 35.
- 191 "Catalogue of Objects in the Museum," The Art Institute Catalogue, under date of Jan. 1896, Part I, p. 114.
- 192 The name "Tarbellites," was the name given to the followers of E.C. Tarbell, another leader of the American impressionists. Cf. above, our note 41 of this chapter.
- 193 For examples of Hassam's painting cf. Time, (March 26, 1956), p. 87. Hassam, like many others of the American impressionists and especially the so-called "Ashcan Group," (Luks, Glackens, Shinn, Prendergast, etc.), have recently come into much popular favor.
- 194 "Catalogue of the 8th Annual Exhibition of Watercolors, Pastels, and Miniatures of American Artists," The Art Institute Catalogue, under the date, April 16, 1896, p. 28.
- 195 Clarence Cook, "Some Present Aspects of Art in America," The Chautauquan, Vol. 23, no. 5, (August, 1896), p. 595.
- 196 Ibid., p. 601. Cook was "prophetic," in light of the present-day interest in the Armory Show and the artists who both organized it and exhibited at it.
- 197 "L.M.R.," "The St. Louis Exposition," The Art Amateur, Vol. 35, no. 6, (Nov. 1896), p. 110.
- 198 I. McDougall, "Pittsburgh's Picture Exhibition," The Art Amateur, Vol. 35, no. 7, (Dec., 1896), p. 137.
- 199 Alfred Trumble, "News and Views," The Collector, Vol. 7, no. 4, (Dec. 15, 1896), p. 49.

- 200 Helen Knowlton, "The Painting of Landscape," Modern Art, Vol. 4, no. 1, (Winter, 1896), p. 14.
- 201 F. Hopkinson Smith, "Modern French Impressionism in Art and Literature," The Art Institute Catalogue, under the date, Jan. 19, 1897.
- 202 J.H. Bowles, "Addendum," Modern Art, Vol. 5, no. 1, (Jan. 1897), pp. 11-12. On Modern Art's move to Boston, cf. above p. 9 and 10, (text) of chapter one.
- 203 Anna Schmidt, "An Afternoon With Claude Monet," Modern Art, Vol. 5, no. 1, (Jan. 1897), p. 33.
- 204 Ibid., p. 34.
- 205 Montague Marks, "My Note Book," The Art Amateur, Vol. 36, no. 2, (Feb. 1897), p. 165.
- 206 Alfred Trumble, "News and Views," The Collector, Vol. 7, no. 11, (April, 1, 1897), p. 165.
- 207 Arthur J. Eddy, "Edouard Manet, Painter," Brush and Pencil, Vol. 1, no. 5, (Feb. 1898), p. 137.
- 208 "Catalogue of the Antiquarians Loan Exhibition of Selected Works of Old and Modern Masters," The Art Institute Catalogue, under date of Jan. 1, 1898, p. 14. The show ran from Jan. 1 to 28.
- 209 Eddy, loc. cit. p. 140.
- 210 "The Fine Arts," The Critic, Vol. 25, no. 730, (Feb. 15, 1896), p. 117.
- 211 "Art Notes," The Critic, Vol. 29, no. 837, (Mar. 5, 1898), p. 169.
- 212 The Art Amateur, Vol. 38, no. 5, (April, 1898), p. 107.
- 213 Roger Riordan, "Miss Mary Cassatt," The Art Amateur, Vol. 38, no. 6, (May, 1898), p. 130.
- 214 Pissarro, Letters to His Son Lucien, p. 40.
- 215 "The Observer," [The editor?], The Art Interchange, Vol. 42, no. 3, (Mar. 1899), p. 59.
- 216 Montague Marks, "My Note Book," The Art Amateur, Vol. 40, no. 4, (Mar. 1899), p. 75.
- 217 "The Observer," The Art Interchange, ibid., p. 60.
- 218 "The Observer," The Art Interchange, Vol. 42, no. 4, (April, 1899), p. 80.

- 219 Virginia C. Johnson, "The School of Modern Impressionism," The Art Interchange, Vol. 42, no. 4, (April, 1899), p. 88.
- 220 "Exhibitions," The Art Amateur, Vol. 40, no. 5, (April, 1899), p. 95. Sisley died in destitution at Moret-sur-Loing, Jan. 29, 1899, (cf. Rewald, The History of Impressionism, p. 334.) Perhaps Durand-Ruel held this show in honor of Sisley's death.
- 221 Cf. The Chicago Times-Herald, June 11, 1899, as found in The Art Institute Scrapbook, Vol. 11, (May 2, 1899-Dec. 31, 1899).
- 222 "Editorial Comment," The Art Interchange, Vol. 45, no. 1, (July, 1900), p. 12.
- 223 Cf. The Chicago Times-Herald, Dec. 30, 1900, as found in The Art Institute Scrapbook, Vol. 13, (Aug. 25, 1900-Mar. 9, 1901).

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The Boston Museum of Fine Arts, (Courtesy of Perry Rathbone and Marjorie Childs).
The Chicago Historical Society.
The City Art Museum of St. Louis, (Courtesy of Mr. Thomas T. Hoopes, Curator).
The Detroit Institute of Fine Arts.
The Filson Club-Louisville, Kentucky, (Courtesy of Mabel C. Weeks, archivist, and Dorothy T. Cullen, Librarian).
The Free Library of Philadelphia, (Courtesy of Robert E. Scudder).
The Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, (Courtesy of Mr. Frederick B. Tolles).
The Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania, (Courtesy of Katherine M. Taylor, Librarian).
The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, (Courtesy of R.N. Williams, director).
The Newberry Library, Chicago.
The Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts (Courtesy of Frances Lichten, archivist).
The Philadelphia Museum of Art, (Courtesy of Marjorie E. Lyons, Librarian).
The Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, (Courtesy of Mr. William Eves, III).
The Virginia Historical Society, (Courtesy of Mr. John M. Jennings, Director).
Washington University, Department of Art and Archaeology, (Courtesy of Mr. Eisendrath).
The Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio, (Courtesy of Mrs. White).
The Woman's Club of Louisville, (Courtesy of Mrs. Harold Gordon, Pres. and Mrs. Martha Nicholas).

B. PRIVATE COLLECTIONS

- The Dunlap Correspondence. Correspondence of the author with Mrs. Florence Dunlap of Columbia, Missouri. She is the niece of Sara T. Hallowell.
- The Hamlin Garland Papers. Found at the University of Southern California Library, courtesy of Mr. Arvidson and the Garland Family.
- The Palmer-Hallowell Correspondence. The name given by the author to the various collections of letters about individuals mentioned in the thesis. The

- collection of letters was gathered from the following sources or persons:
1. The AICC or the collection of letters at the Art Institute of Chicago in the possession of Mr. Frederick Sweet. The collection contains letters of Mary Cassatt, Mrs. Potter Palmer, and Sara T. Hallowell.
 2. The AIS, or the Art Institute Scrapbook. A random collection, made up mostly of clippings from the art journals and newspapers of the eighties and nineties. Here and there a stray letter or some such miscellaneous item appears.
 3. The CHS, or the Chicago Historical Society's Folder under the heading "The World's Columbian Exposition," contains Letters of Mrs. Palmer, Mary Cassatt and Sara Hallowell concerning the art displayed in the Woman's Building at the Fair.
 4. BMFA, or the collection of letters at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts between the director (then) General Charles G. Loring and Sara Hallowell.
 5. NLC, or the Newberry Library collection of what remain of Mrs. Palmer's letters. Most of her voluminous correspondence is known to have been burned shortly after her death.
 6. PAFA, or the collection of letters at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. This collection contains a few letters between the director of the Academy in the nineties and Sara Hallowell.

The Dunlap Scrapbook. This refers to the Scrapbook kept in the Hallowell family with information and clippings on Sara Hallowell's work as an art agent. The Scrapbook is presently in the possession of the Dunlap family of Columbia, Missouri.

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- The Chautauquan, published in Cleveland and Meadville, Penn., 1880 to 1900.
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Modern Art, published in Indianapolis, and Boston, 1893 to 1897.
Scribner's Monthly, published in New York, 1880-1881, 1887 to 1900.

2. Periodicals used passim.

The Dial, published in Chicago.
Studio, published in New York.
Harper's Weekly, published in New York.
The Chicago Figaro, published in Chicago for the World's Fair, 1893.

3. Catalogues from the Museums of:

Chicago Art Institute,
 Cleveland Museum of Art,
 The Detroit Institute of Arts,
 The Louisville Museum of Art,
 Interstate Industrial Expositions, Chicago.

4. Newspapers:

The Chicago Inter-Ocean,
The Chicago News,
The Chicago Post,
The Chicago Times,
The Chicago Times-Herald,
The Chicago Tribune.

C. SECONDARY SOURCES

1. Books. This list is not intended to be comprehensive. An attempt was made on the part of the author to read all the books of the period having to do with the thesis subject insofar as this was possible.

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APPENDIX I

LIST OF THE FIFTY-SIX ARTISTS WHO PARTICIPATED IN ONE OR ALL OF THE EIGHT GROUP SHOWS WITH THE IMPRESSIONISTS FROM 1874 TO 1886¹

<u>Astruc</u> (1) ²	<u>Forain</u> (4)	<u>de Nittis</u> (1)
<u>Attendu</u> (1)	<u>Francois</u> (2)	<u>Ottin, A.</u> (1)
<u>Belliard</u> (2)	<u>Gauguin</u> (4)	<u>Ottin, L.A.</u> (2)
<u>Beneau</u> (1)	<u>Guillaumin</u> (6)	<u>Pissarro, C.</u> (8)
<u>Boudin</u> (1)	<u>Lamy</u> (1)	<u>Pissarro, L.</u> (1)
<u>Bracquemond, F.</u> (3)	<u>Latouche</u> (1)	<u>Raffaelli</u> (2)
<u>Bracquemond, Mme.</u> (3)	<u>Lebourg</u> (2)	<u>Redon</u> (2)
<u>Brandon</u> (1)	<u>Legros</u> (1)	<u>Renoir</u> (4)
<u>Bureau</u> (1)	<u>Lepic</u> (2)	<u>Robert</u> (1)
<u>Caillabotte</u> (5)	<u>Lepine</u> (1)	<u>Rouart</u> (7)
<u>Cals</u> (4)	<u>Levert</u> (4)	<u>Schaffenecker</u> , (1)
<u>Cassatt</u> (4)	<u>Maureau</u> (1)	<u>Seurat</u> (1)
<u>Cezanne</u> (2)	<u>Meyer</u> (1)	<u>Signac</u> (1)
<u>Collin</u> (1)	<u>Millet, J.B.</u> (1)	<u>Sisley</u> (4)
<u>Cordey</u> (1)	<u>de Molins</u> (1)	<u>Sonn</u> (1)
<u>Degas</u> (7)	<u>Monet</u> (5)	<u>Tillot</u> (6)
<u>Desboutin</u> (1)	<u>Morisot</u> (7)	<u>Vidal</u> (2)
<u>Desbras</u> (1)	<u>Malot-Durivage</u> (1)	<u>Vignon</u> (4)
		<u>Zandomenighi</u> (4)

¹John Rewald, The History of Impressionism (New York, 1946), p. 435.

²The number in brackets after the name of the artist indicates the number of impressionist shows in which the particular artist participated. The artists whose names are italicized took part in the first impressionist show in 1874.

APPENDIX II

LIST OF THE MAJOR ART EXHIBITS IN THE EAST DURING THE YEARS 1879 TO

1900 THAT HAD TO DO WITH IMPRESSIONISM¹

<u>DATE</u>	<u>PLACE</u>	<u>TYPE OF EXHIBIT (AND DATE WHERE KNOWN)</u>
1879	New York	Manet's <u>Shooting of Maximilian</u> on loan to the opera singer <u>Mme. Ambre</u> . Cf. Huth (bibliography), and <u>HI</u> , p. 336.
1883	Boston	A "foreign exhibition," and one of the first conducted in America by Durand-Ruel of impressionist paintings. Cf. Huth, and also Rewald's <u>Letters to His Son Lucien</u> , (Camille Pissarro to his son), p. 33. <u>Three Pissarro's (C.)</u> were shown.
1883	New York	An art loan exhibition at the National Academy of Design sponsored by William Merritt Chase, Cf. Huth.
1886	New York	First Great impressionist show and first of its kind in this country; sponsored by James F. Sutton of New York. Cf. <u>HI</u> , pp. 377, 392-94 and 396. Also, <u>AA</u> , Vol. 14, no. 6, May, 1886, p. 121.
1886	New York	Parts of the same show above, shown at the Union League Club. Cf. <u>Critic</u> , Nov. 1886, p. 2.
1887	New York	<u>May 25-June 30</u> : second Great impressionist show <u>In New York</u> in the galleries of the National Academy of Design, sponsored by the American Art Association. Cf. <u>AA</u> , July, 1887. Some of these paintings also ended up in Moore's gallery.
1889	New York	Some "new" impressionist pictures on display at Durand-Ruel's New York gallery. Cf. <u>AA</u> , June, 1889.
1890	New York	Some pictures of Berthe Morisot on display at the Berkeley Lyceum. Cf. <u>Coll.</u> , Vol. 1, no. 10, Mar. 15, 1890.
1891	New York	<u>March</u> : Examples of Monet at the Union League Club show, belonging to Mr. Albert Spencer. Cf. <u>AA</u> , Vol. 24, no. 4, March, 1891, p. 88.

<u>DATE</u>	<u>PLACE</u>	<u>TYPE OF EXHIBIT AND DATE (WHERE KNOWN)</u>
1891	New York	<u>March</u> : Mary Cassatt had a group of etchings on display at the art club exhibit. Cf. <u>Coll.</u> , Vol. 2, no. 9, Mar. 1, 1891.
1891	New York	Some examples of Monet at the Boussod and Valadon galleries. Cf. <u>Critic</u> , Vol. 16, no. 410, Nov. 7, 1891.
1892	New York	<u>March</u> : Monet exhibition at the Durand-Ruel galleries. Cf. <u>AA</u> , Vol. 26, Mar. 1892, p. 87.
1892	Boston	<u>May</u> : Monet Show. Cf. <u>Coll.</u> , Vol. 3, no. 14, May, 1892, p. 216.
1892	New York	<u>December</u> : Paintings of Sisley, Renoir, J.L. Brown, Degas and Jongkind at Durand-Ruel galleries. Cf. <u>Coll.</u> , Vol. 4, no. 3, Dec. 1, 1892.
1893	New York	<u>Jan. or Feb.</u> Paintings of Monet, Renoir, Sisley, Raffaelli and Pissarro at the Boussod-Valadon galleries. Cf. <u>Coll.</u> , Vol. 4, no. 7, Jan. 15, 1893, p. 102.
1893	New York	<u>Mar. or April</u> : Loan exhibition of impressionism at the Fine Arts Building, sponsored by the American Fine Arts Society. Also some Haystacks by Monet in the Vanderbilt Gallery. Cf. <u>AA</u> , Vol. 28, no. 5, April, 1893, p. 126.
1893	New York	<u>April or May</u> : An exhibit of American Impressionism and French: Monet, Besnard, Twachtman and Weir on display at the American Art Galleries. Cf. <u>Modern Art</u> , Vol. I, no. 3, Summer, 1893.
1893	New York	<u>Nov.-Dec.</u> : Mary Cassatt had a show at the Durand-Ruel galleries. Cf. <u>Modern Art</u> , Vol. 3, no. 1, Winter, 1893.
1894	New York	<u>Jan.(?)</u> : Monet show at the Delmonico gallery. Cf. <u>Coll.</u> , Vol. 4, no. 6, Jan. 15, 1894, p. 85.
1895	New York	<u>Jan.</u> : Monet show at the Durand-Ruel galleries. Cf. <u>AA</u> , Vol. 32, no. 3, Feb. 1895, p. 73. Also, <u>Modern Art</u> , Vol. 3, no. 2, Spring, 1895.
1895	New York	<u>March-April</u> : Monet show at the Durand-Ruel galleries. Cf. <u>AA</u> , Vol. 32, no. 5, April, 1895, p. 133. Also <u>Modern Art</u> , Vol. 3, no. 2, Spring, 1895.

<u>DATE</u>	<u>PLACE</u>	<u>TYPE OF EXHIBIT AND DATE (WHERE KNOWN)</u>
1895	New York	March-April: Raffaelli show at the American Art Galleries. Cf. <u>AA</u> , Vol. 32, no. 5, April, 1895.
1895	New York	May: Mary Cassatt had a show at the Durand-Ruel Galleries. Cf. <u>AA</u> , Vol. 32, no. 6, May, 1895, p. 158.
1896	New York	Nov.-Dec.: J. L. Brown had a show at the Durand-Ruel Galleries. Cf. <u>Modern Art</u> , Vol. 3, no. 4, Winter, 1896.
1898	New York	: Mary Cassatt exhibit of paintings, pastels and etchings at Durand-Ruel Galleries. Cf. <u>AA</u> , Vol. 38, no. 5, p. 107.
1899	New York	March: A Monet show at the Lotus Club. Cf. <u>AA</u> , Vol. 40, no. 4, Mar. 1899, p. 75. Also <u>The Art Interchange</u> , Vol. 42, Mar. 1899, p. 59.
1899	New York	March-April: An Alfred Sisley show at the Durand-Ruel galleries. Cf. <u>AA</u> , Vol. 40, no. 5, April, 1899, p. 95.

¹As should be obvious, this list of the impressionist shows is more incomplete than Appendix III. The author was able to use only the art journals,

APPENDIX III

LIST OF THE MAJOR ART EXHIBITS IN THE MIDWEST DURING THE YEARS 1885-1900 THAT HAD TO DO WITH IMPRESSIONISM

<u>DATE</u>	<u>PLACE</u>	<u>MONTH AND TYPE OF EXHIBITION</u>
1886	Detroit	<u>May 29, 1886, First Annual Exhibition, 1 etching of Felix Bracquemond, cf. Museum Cata. no. 325, Dead Birds.</u>
1889	Detroit	<u>Spring Exhibition, 2 paintings of Theodore Robinson, cf. Museum Cata.</u>
1890	Chicago	<u>Sept. 3 to Oct. 18: In the Annual IIE show, 3 Impressionist artists represented: Pissarro, (4 watercolors), Monet, (6 oils), Degas, (1 pastel), all lent by Durand-Ruel. First show of any size in the Midwest of Impressionism.</u>
1893	St. Louis	<u>Feb. 15, 1893: German, French and American samples of impressionism at the St. Louis Museum of Fine Arts. Cf. Coll. Vol. 4, no. 8, p. 128.</u>
1893	Chicago	<u>May to October: during the World's Fair. In the Loan Coll. there was a sizeable number of impressionist painting. Cf. Loan Coll. catalogue.</u>
1893	Louisville	<u>September: Hampton College Impressionist Exhibit, sponsored by the Woman's Club of Louisville. Cf. Woman's Club catalogue.</u>
1894	St. Louis	<u>Sept. 5, 11th Annual Exhibit of the St. Louis Exposition and Music Hall Association; Manet (1), Monet, Sisley, Pissarro, Renoir, and Boudin, (2-3 apiece). Cf. AA, Vol. 31, no. 5, Oct. 1894, p. 90.</u>
1894	Cleveland	<u>Jan. 4: 2 Monet, Belle Isle, (no. 43), Hoar Frost, Rising Sun, (no. 44); Degas, Ballet Girls, no. (46) loaned by A.A. Pope of Cleveland. Cf. Cata. of the Cleveland Loan Exhibit, also Coe, Vol. 1, p. xxv, in Bibliography.</u>

<u>DATE</u>	<u>PLACE</u>	<u>MONTH AND TYPE OF EXHIBITION</u>
1894	Chicago	October: A show of the paintings of the American Impressionists; much comment on their relationship to the French impressionists. Cf. <u>AIS</u> , p. 6.
1895	Chicago	March 22: A Loan Exhibit of 20 paintings of Monet opened around this date. Cf. <u>AIS</u> , p. 7; also the <u>Daybook</u> ; also <u>Critic</u> , Vol. 23, no. 685, April 6, 1895.
1895	Chicago	April 17: A large Raffaelli show with the painter present; cf. <u>AIC</u> , p. 3.
1895	Chicago	June: A Manet show on Loan from Durand-Ruel; (15 oils), cf. <u>Daybook</u> , also, <u>Critic</u> , Vol. 23, June 8, 1895.
1895	Pittsburgh	December: A Loan Exhibit; some paintings of Monet at least. Cf. <u>AA</u> , Vol. 34, no. 1, Dec. 1895, p.4.
1896	St. Louis	Sept. 9: 13th Annual St. Louis Exp. and Mus. Hall Exhibit; paintings by Monet, Pissarro, Sisley and Renoir. Cf. <u>AA</u> , Vol. 35, no. 6, Nov. 1896, p. 110.
1896	Pittsburgh	December: Annual Carnegie Gallery Exhibit; some paintings of Degas and Raffaelli. Cf. <u>AA</u> , Vol. 35, no. 7, Dec. 1896, p. 137. Show more than likely took place in November. <u>AIS</u> , p. 10, gives November as month for the following year, (below).
1897	Pittsburgh	November; Sisley, Pissarro and Monet represented. Cf. <u>AIS</u> , p. 10.
1898	Detroit	Dec. 1897-Jan. 1898: The second Annual Exhibition of the Society of Western Artists: the Indianapolis impressionist, T.C. Steele showed 4 works: <u>Gordon Hill</u> , (114); <u>Street in Matamora</u> , (115); <u>September Afternoon</u> , (116); and <u>October Hills</u> , (117). Cf. <u>Cata. at Det. Mus. of Art.</u>
1898	Chicago	Jan. 2: In the Annual Antiquarians Loan Exhibit of Old Masters, 1 Degas, and 1 Manet. Cf. <u>AIC</u> , p. 4.
1898	Pittsburgh	November (?): Annual Carnegie Gallery Exhibit. Pissarro sent two paintings. Cf. <u>Letters to His Son Lucien</u> , ed. by John Rewald, pp. 326-33.

<u>DATE</u>	<u>PLACE</u>	<u>MONTH AND TYPE OF EXHIBITION</u>
1898	Detroit	Oct. 22-Nov. 12: 3rd Annual Exhibit of the Society of Western Artists. T.C. Steele showed <u>Afternoon at the Ford</u> , (130); <u>Nature Dreams</u> , (131); <u>The Massachusetts</u> , (132); and <u>Portrait of Brandt Steele</u> , (133).
1900	Chicago	Jan. 10: Another large Raffaelli show, (at least 58 works, etchings etc.) from private collections. Cf. <u>AIC</u> , p. 4 and <u>AIS</u> , p. 13.
1901	Chicago ¹	Jan. 8: Loan Exhibit of Impressionist paintings. Pissarro, Monet, Sisley, etc. loaned by Durand-Ruel and Mrs. Palmer, et al. Also a portfolio of etchings by Mary Cassatt. Cf. <u>AIC</u> , p. 4 and <u>AIS</u> , p. 13.

¹The above list is by no means comprehensive. It does however, represent four years of research on the collectors and collecting impressionism in the Midwest from 1880 to 1900. The author was able to look for material pertaining to the public showing of impressionist art, or the private collecting of it in the cities of Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit and Louisville. Information on impressionist shows in other Midwestern cities, (St. Louis and Pittsburgh) was obtained by a perusal of the following magazines of the nineties: Art Amateur, Art Interchange, The Collector, The Critic, International Studio, The Chautauquan, The Dial, The Chapbook, Brush and Pencil, Modern Art, The Century and Harpers. For this list to be comprehensive and complete, art institutions in Toledo, Cincinnati, as well as Pittsburgh and St. Louis should be visited.

APPENDIX IV

LIST OF IMPRESSIONIST PAINTINGS DISPLAYED AT THE ANNUAL ART EXHIBIT OF THE INTERSTATE INDUSTRIAL EXPOSITIONS, 1873-1890.¹

<u>DATE</u>	<u>ARTIST</u>	<u>NUMBER AND TITLE OF PAINTING, DEALER, OWNER, ETC.</u>
1879	J.F. Raffaelli	649: <u>The Bird Fanciers: A Scene in Arabia.</u> <u>Painting on loan from Mr. Henry Hilton of</u> <u>New York, Cata. IIE, 1879.</u>
1888	J.C. Casin	72: <u>Picardy</u> 73: <u>Moonrise</u> , both on loan from George I. Seney, <u>(?), Cata. IIE, 1888.</u>
1890	C. Pissarro	235: <u>Watching the Cows</u> , (watercolor) 236: <u>Little Girl</u> 237: <u>Landscape at Basincourt</u> 238: <u>View at Pontoise</u>
1890	C. Monet	196: <u>The Seine at Lavacourt: Drifting Ice</u> 197: <u>Vetheuil: Flooded Meadows</u> 198: <u>The Coast of Fecamp</u> 199: <u>The Coast of Notre Dame de la Mer</u> 200: <u>Custom House Near Pourville</u> 201: <u>On the Isle, San Martin</u>
1890	E. Degas	---: <u>Before the Start</u> , (pastel). Cata. IIE, <u>1890. All the paintings from this first</u> <u>major impressionist show in the Midwest</u> <u>were on loan from Degrand-Ruel.</u>

¹Though the art exhibitions of the IIE ran from 1873 consecutively through 1891, (nineteen years), the Chicago Historical Society had only the catalogues up to 1890.

APPENDIX V

THE POTTER PALMER COLLECTION AT THE ART INSTITUTE, (COURTESY OF MR. SWEET).

1. Barye, Antoine, The Leopard, (30.818).
2. Barye, Antoine, Family of Lions, (30.819).
3. Besnard, Albert, Woman's Head, (Repose,) (22.420), 1849-1934.
4. Cassatt, Mary, Mother and Child, (22.421), 1844-1926.
5. Casin, Jean Charles, Theocritus, (22.401), 1841-1901.
6. Corot, Jean-Baptiste-Camille, Souvenir of Italy, (22.408), 1796-1875.
7. Corot, Jean-Baptiste-Camille, Interrupted Reading, (22.410), 1796-1875.
8. Corot, Jean Baptiste-Camille, Arleux-Falluel, The Bridge of Trysts, (22.407).
9. Dagnan-Bouveret, Pascal Adolphe Jean, Woman From Brittany, (22.442), 1852-1929.
10. Daubigny, Charles Francois, House of Mere Bazot, (22.405), 1817-78.
11. Degas, Edgar, The Morning Bath, (22.422), 1834-1917).
Signature; no date, c. 1890.
Owners and sales: Durand-Ruel
Mrs. Potter Palmer, 1896.
12. Degas, Edgar, On the Stage, (22.423), 1834-1917.
Signature: no date, c. 1880.
Owners and sales: Durand-Ruel
Mrs. Potter Palmer, 1889.
13. Delacroix, Eugene, Arab Rider Attacked by a Lion, (22.403), 1798-1863.
14. Delacroix, Eugene, The Lion Hunt, (22.404).
15. Delacroix, Eugene, Copy After, Dante's Bark, (22.402).
16. Hitchcock, George, Annunciation Lilies, (30.1289), 1850-1913.
17. Hitchcock, George, Flower Girl in Holland, (88.169).

18. Johnson, Eastman, Corn Husking Bee, (22.444), 1824-1906.
19. Manet, Edouard, The Outlet of Boulogne Harbor, (22.425), 1832-83.
 Signature; no date, c. 1864.
 Owners and sales: Knoedler
 Mrs. Potter Palmer c. 1902.
20. Manet, Edouard, The Races at Longchamps, Paris, (22.424).
 Signature; no date.
 Owners and sales: Delius Coll.
 Mrs. Potter Palmer, 1884.
21. Millet, Jean Francois, The First Madame Millet (?), (22.415), 1814-1875.
22. Millet, Jean Francois, The Woodchopper, (22.416).
23. Millet, Jean Francois, The Little Shepherdess, (22.413).
24. Millet, Jean Francois, The Sheepshearer, (22.417).
25. Millet, Jean Francois, In Auvergne, (22.414).
26. Monet, Claude, Etretat, Morning, (22.429).
 Signature, plus date, 1883.
 Exhibition: AIC, Cat. no. 38, 1910.
27. Monet, Claude, Argenteuil-Sur-Seine, (22.427), 1840-1926.
 Signature, plus date, 1868.
 Owners and sales: On back Durand-Ruel's Paris label is pasted.
 Exhibition: II, 257, AIC, Cat. 40, 1910.
28. Monet, Claude, Bordighera, (22.426).
 Signature, plus date, 1884.
29. Monet, Claude, Torrent, Dauphine, (22.432).
 Signature, no date, c. 1885.
30. Monet, Claude, Boats in Winter Quarters, (22.428).
 Owners and sales: Durand-Ruel
 Mrs. Potter Palmer, 1893.
31. Monet, Claude, Haystacks, Setting Sun, (22.431).
 Signature; plus date, 1891.
 Owners and sales: Durand-Ruel
 Mrs. Potter Palmer.

32. Pissarro, Camille, The Cafe Au Lait, (22.433), 1830-1903.
Signature; plus date 1881.
 Owners and sales: Durand-Ruel, 1892,
 Mrs. Potter Palmer, 1892.
33. Pissarro, Camille, Woman and Child at the Well, (22.436).
Signature; plus date 1882.
 Owners and sales: Mrs. Potter Palmer.
34. Pissarro, Camille, Place Du Havre, Paris, (22.434).
Signature; plus date, 1893.
 Exhibited in Paris by Durand-Ruel in 1893.
35. Pavis de Chavannes, Pierre Cecile. The Sacred Grove, (22.445), 1824-1898.
36. Raffaelli, Jean Francois, Notre Dame of Paris, (22.446), 1850-1924.
Signature; painted around 1890.
 Owners and sales: Honore and Potter Palmer, Jr.
37. Raffaelli, Jean Francois, Place de la Trinite, (22.447).
Signature; no date, c. 1886.
 Owners and sales: Honore and Potter Palmer, Jr.
 Exhibited at World's Fair, p. 148, cat. no. 49.
38. Renoir, Auguste, Two Little Circus Girls, (22.440), 1841-1919.
Signature; painted in 1879.
 Owners and sales: Durand-Ruel
 Mrs. Potter Palmer, 1892.
 Cf. Potter Palmer Coll. of paintings, AIC,
 Bulletin Vol. 19, 1925, p. 32.
39. Renoir, Auguste, The Wave, (22.438).
Signature; plus date, 1879.
40. Renoir, Auguste, The Rowers' Lunch, (22.437).
Signature; no date c. 1879-80.
 Label on back from Durand-Ruel.
 Owners and sales: Durand-Ruel
 Potter Palmer.
41. Renoir, Auguste, Near the Lake, (22.439).
Signature; no date, c. 1880.
 Owners and sales: Durand-Ruel, Paris,
 Mrs. Potter Palmer, 1892.
42. Rico y Ortega, Martin, House of Pilate, (22.2206).
43. Ruissda el, Jacob van, Ruins of Egmond, (47.475), 1628/9-1682.

44. Sisley, Alfred, Street at Moret, (22.441), 1839-99.
 Signature; no date c. 1890.
 Owners and Sales: Durand-Ruel
 Mrs. Potter Palmer (1892-94)
 Exhibited at World's Fair, p. 148, no. 3025.
45. Smith, F. Hopkinson, Flower Market, (30.1288).
46. Whistler, James Abbott McNeill, Gray and Silver: Battersea Reach,
 (22.449), 1834-03.
47. Whistler, James, Gray and Green: The Silver Sea, (22.448).
48. Zorn, Anders Leonard, Mrs. Potter Palmer, (Bertha Honore), (22.450),
 Signature: Zorn, Chicago, 1893.

ADDED LATER:

49. Monet, Claude, Church at Bellecourt, (19.44).
 Signature; no date, c. 1886.
 Owners and sales: Durand-Ruel, New York.
50. Calder, Alexander, Abstract Composition, (55.3).
51. Calder, Alexander, Abstract Composition, (55.2).
52. Barys, Antoine Louis, Leopard, (18.44).
53. Delacroix, Eugene, Combat Between Giaour and the Pasha, (530.30).
54. Degas, Edgar, Dancers Preparing for the Ballet, (385.30).
 Signature; no date, c. 1878-80.
55. Raffaelli, Jean Francois, Two Men in a Cafe, (387.30).
 Signature; painted in 1889.
 Exhibited at World's Fair in 1893.
56. Monet, Claude, Cathedral, (390.30).
 Dated 1894.

Approval Sheet

The thesis submitted by John D. Kysela, S.J. has been read and approved by three members of the Department of History.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated, and that the thesis is now given final approval with reference to content, form, and mechanical accuracy.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts.

11/18/64
Date

W. W. Mc Cleary
Signature of Adviser